

Université de Montréal

**Les relations mères-enfants lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une
règle : étude de l'impact des stratégies visant à renforcer
les règles et du climat interpersonnel**

par

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Résumé

La documentation sur les pratiques parentales suggère qu'afin de favoriser le développement optimal des enfants, les parents devraient utiliser des pratiques qui sont structurantes et qui soutiennent leur autonomie (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Dans certaines situations, par exemple lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle, il peut toutefois sembler difficile pour les parents d'adopter des stratégies parentales qui allient ces deux dimensions. Qui plus est, peu d'études se sont penchées sur la façon dont les parents peuvent renforcer la structure tout en tenant simultanément compte des besoins et de l'individualité des enfants. L'objectif de cette thèse est d'évaluer l'impact de trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles (répéter la règle, donner une punition ou avoir recours à une conséquence logique) variant quant à leurs niveaux de structure et de soutien à l'autonomie, et de vérifier leurs effets lorsqu'elles sont employées au sein d'un climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie ou d'un climat interpersonnel contrôlant.

Le premier article s'intéresse à l'impact conjoint des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sur des indicateurs de conformité et d'intériorisation rapportés par 221 enfants et leurs mères. Les résultats montrent que les mères considèrent les conséquences logiques utilisées dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie comme étant les pratiques les plus efficaces et les plus acceptables (effet interactif). Les enfants pensent aussi qu'un climat interpersonnel qui soutient l'autonomie est plus efficace et plus acceptable qu'un climat interpersonnel contrôlant. De plus, les résultats suggèrent que les enfants considèrent les conséquences logiques comme des pratiques aussi efficaces, mais plus acceptables que les punitions. Le fait de répéter la règle est jugé comme étant acceptable, mais peu efficace

comparativement aux autres stratégies. Pour les enfants, les résultats montrent qu'il n'y a pas d'interaction entre les stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et le climat interpersonnel.

Le second article vise à documenter les réactions émotionnelles potentielles des mêmes enfants ($N = 221$) face aux trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et aux climats interpersonnels. Quatre émotions déterminantes dans le processus d'intériorisation sont étudiées, soit la colère, la tristesse, la culpabilité et la honte. Les résultats montrent d'abord qu'un climat interpersonnel contrôlant amènerait les enfants à vivre plus de colère, de tristesse et de honte qu'un climat soutenant l'autonomie. Par contre, les enfants rapportent autant de culpabilité au sein des deux climats interpersonnels. Les résultats suggèrent également que les punitions susciteraient plus de tristesse, de culpabilité et de colère que les conséquences logiques, que les conséquences logiques feraient vivre aux enfants plus de tristesse et de culpabilité que répéter la règle et que les punitions amèneraient les enfants à vivre davantage de honte que répéter la règle. Finalement, les résultats suggèrent que les effets des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sont additifs; il n'y a pas d'interaction entre ces deux facteurs.

Les contributions théoriques de cette thèse à la documentation sur les pratiques parentales et le développement des enfants, de même que ses implications pratiques pour les parents dans la socialisation des enfants sont discutées.

Mots-clés : conséquences, émotions, intériorisation, obéissance, pratiques parentales, punitions, renforcement des règles, structure, soutien à l'autonomie, théorie de l'autodétermination

Abstract

The parenting literature suggests that in order to promote children's optimal development, parents should use practices that are structuring and that support children's autonomy (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). However, in some situations, for example when a child breaks a rule, it may seem difficult, or even impossible, for parents to adopt parental strategies that combine these two dimensions. Surprisingly, few studies have examined how parents can enforce structure while simultaneously taking into account the needs and individuality of their children, and to our knowledge, no study has done so in rule-breaking situations. The objective of this thesis is to evaluate the impact of three rule enforcement strategies (to repeat the rule without authority exertion, to give a punishment or to use a logical consequence) that are assumed to vary in the degree of structure and autonomy support they convey, and to verify their effects when used in either an autonomy-supportive or a controlling interpersonal climate. Two articles are presented to assess the impact of these parental strategies on determinants of children's socialization.

The first article aims at understanding the joint impact of the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates on indicators of compliance and internalization as reported by 221 children and their mothers. Results show that mothers consider logical consequences used in an autonomy-supportive climate as the most effective and acceptable strategies (interactive effect). Children also believe that autonomy-supportive interpersonal climates are more effective and more acceptable than controlling interpersonal climates. Furthermore, results suggest that children consider logical consequences to be as effective as punishments to prevent future transgression, but they consider them as more acceptable than

punishments. Repeating the rule without authority exertion is judged as an acceptable strategy, but not a very effective one compared to the other two strategies. For children, the results show that these effects are additive, such that there is no interaction between the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates.

The second article investigates the potential emotional reactions of the same children (N = 221) to the three rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates. Four important emotions in the internalization process are studied, that is anger, sadness, guilt, and shame. Results first show that controlling interpersonal climates would lead children to experience more anger, sadness, and shame than autonomy-supportive climates. However, children report as much guilt in both interpersonal climates. Results also suggest that punishments would elicit more sadness, guilt, and anger than logical consequences, that logical consequences would make children feel more sad and guilty than repeating the rule, and that punishment would lead children to feel more shame than repeating the rule. Finally, results suggest that the impact of the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates are additive; there is no interaction between these two factors.

The theoretical contributions of this thesis to the literature on parenting and child development, as well as its practical implications for parents are discussed.

Keywords : autonomy support, compliance, consequences, emotions, internalization, parenting practices, punishments, rule enforcement, self-determination theory, structure

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Liste des sigles et abréviations

En français :

c.-à-d.	c'est-à-dire
p. ex.	par exemple
SA	Soutien à l'autonomie
TAD	Théorie de l'autodétermination

En anglais :

ANOVA	Analysis of variance
AS	Autonomy support
e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)
i.e.	id est (that is)
F	In ANOVA, F ratio
F_{exact}	In MANOVA, exact F ratio
M	Mean
MANOVA	Multivariate analysis of variance
p	Probability of committing a type-I error
r	Pearson correlation coefficient
SD	Standard deviation
SDT	Self-determination theory
Wilks' Λ	In MANOVA, Wilks' lambda
α	Cronbach's alpha, scale's internal consistency coefficient
τ^2	In MANOVA, tau-square
η_p^2	In ANOVA, partial eta-square

*À mon grand-papa Raymond,
qui aurait été si fier de sa belle grande fille d'amour*

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Introduction

Alors qu'il s'agit probablement d'une des plus belles responsabilités qu'il soit donné d'assumer, éduquer un enfant n'est pas chose facile. En effet, il incombe aux parents d'accompagner leurs enfants vers l'épanouissement et l'expression de leur individualité, mais également de les préparer aux exigences de la vie en société. À travers de multiples échanges et interactions, les parents cherchent ainsi à transmettre à leurs enfants les valeurs et les normes qui leur permettront de fonctionner dans leur environnement de manière optimale. Le processus de socialisation a entre autres comme objectif d'amener les enfants à s'autoréguler afin qu'ils adoptent des comportements appropriés et qu'ils le fassent de façon autonome et assumée. Devant les nombreux défis posés par l'éducation d'un enfant, maintes questions surgissent inévitablement dans la tête des parents : comment guider l'enfant vers l'actualisation de son plein potentiel? Comment trouver et maintenir l'équilibre entre soutien et encadrement? Comment réagir aux transgressions de l'enfant? Afin de répondre à ces questions et de fournir des outils aux parents, la communauté scientifique s'est penchée sur l'étude de divers styles et comportements parentaux, de même que sur leur influence sur le développement des enfants.

De façon générale, et malgré des nomenclatures parfois différentes, la documentation récente fait état de trois grandes catégories de comportements pouvant être adoptés auprès des enfants afin de favoriser leur développement : l'implication parentale, la structure et le soutien à l'autonomie. Alors que la dimension d'implication parentale, qui réfère aux ressources émotionnelles et matérielles que les parents fournissent aux enfants (Grolnick, 2003), semble faire consensus, les dimensions de structure (c.-à-d., référant à l'encadrement et à la

supervision) et de soutien à l'autonomie (c.-à-d., référant au respect que les parents accordent aux idées, besoins et sentiments des enfants) ont fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions théoriques visant à définir et à départager leurs constituants. Les principaux travaux s'étant intéressés à ces deux dimensions sont présentés ci-après.

Vers une conceptualisation des dimensions de structure et de soutien à l'autonomie

Schaefer (1965a, 1965b) fut l'un des premiers à proposer une conceptualisation des pratiques parentales où le contrôle était séparé en deux dimensions bipolaires, soit le *contrôle comportemental* vs le *laisser-faire* et le *contrôle psychologique* vs l'*autonomie*. La première dimension proposée par Schaefer, celle du contrôle comportemental, réfère au fait que les parents doivent instaurer des règles, mettre des limites aux comportements des enfants et renforcer ces règles et limites dans la vie quotidienne. Parallèlement, Schaefer a défini le contrôle psychologique comme étant un ensemble de pratiques visant à contrôler les pensées et les sentiments des enfants et les empêchant de se développer de façon autonome. L'autonomie psychologique était plutôt définie comme étant l'absence de tels comportements.

Dans un effort de classification, Baumrind (1966, 1971) a quant à elle proposé une typologie regroupant trois styles parentaux, soit les parents autoritaires, démocratiques et permissifs. Selon cette typologie, les parents autoritaires sont ceux qui instaurent des règles, sanctionnent les comportements indésirables de leurs enfants et ne les encouragent pas à participer à la prise de décisions ou à donner leur opinion. Les parents démocratiques valorisent plutôt la discussion et la participation aux prises de décisions, tout en veillant à ce que les limites et règles établies soient respectées en utilisant des sanctions, si nécessaire. De leur côté, les parents permissifs ont été décrits comme ceux qui font peu de demandes,

n'instaurent ou ne renforcent pas les règles et sanctionnent peu les écarts de conduite de leurs enfants. Cependant, tout comme les parents démocratiques, ils encouragent leurs enfants à donner leur opinion et à gagner en indépendance.

Dans des travaux ultérieurs, Baumrind (1991, 1996) a proposé deux dimensions parentales sous-tendant sa typologie initiale. La première dimension faisait référence aux demandes faites aux enfants, à la supervision, à la discipline et au fait de confronter les enfants qui désobéissent (*demandingness* ou demandes parentales). La seconde dimension référait plutôt au fait de soutenir l'individualité et les efforts d'autorégulation des enfants en étant à l'écoute de leurs besoins (*responsiveness* ou soutien parental). Les parents autoritaires (demandants, mais peu soutenant), démocratiques (demandants et soutenant) et permissifs (peu demandants, mais soutenant) ont alors été décrits à l'aide de ces dimensions. Un quatrième style parental avait aussi été proposé, soit les parents rejetants/négligents (ni demandants, ni soutenant).

Parallèlement, et afin de mieux opérationnaliser le style démocratique, Steinberg et ses collègues (p. ex., Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, 1990; Steinberg, Elmen & Mounts, 1989) ont repris les travaux de Schaefer et ont entre autres étudié la *sévérité-supervision*, qui fait référence à la présence de règles et à la supervision assurée par le parent, et *l'autonomie psychologique*, qui renvoie à l'absence de discipline coercitive et à l'encouragement de l'individualité. Les travaux de ce groupe ont démontré que ces dimensions avaient une contribution indépendante et additive au bien-être des enfants (p. ex., Gray & Steinberg, 1999). Barber (1996, 2002) a par la suite contribué aux connaissances en s'intéressant à la définition du contrôle. Ses travaux ont d'abord souligné la nécessité de différencier le *contrôle comportemental* du *contrôle psychologique*, et se sont

ensuite appliqués à définir plus précisément le contrôle psychologique. Barber a décrit cette forme de contrôle comme étant l'intrusion des parents dans le développement psychologique et émotionnel de leurs enfants par l'emploi de critiques, de menaces et de techniques visant à manipuler leur monde émotionnel.

Récemment, Grolnick et Pomerantz (2009) ont cherché à mieux départager ces dimensions parentales (c.-à-d., le contrôle comportemental vs le contrôle psychologique) qui ont souvent été confondues en raison de la nomenclature qui était utilisée pour les identifier. En effet, le terme de « contrôle » a été associé aux deux dimensions alors qu'elles réfèrent pourtant à des construits différents. Afin de définir plus clairement ces dimensions, ces auteurs ont proposé que ce ne serait pas ce qui est ciblé par le contrôle du parent (c.-à-d., les pensées ou les comportements de l'enfant) qui déterminerait si les pratiques parentales sont contrôlantes ou soutenantes, mais plutôt le fait que ces pratiques soient intrusives, autoritaires et qu'elles exercent une pression indue sur l'enfant. Comme ces auteures le soulignent, il est en effet possible d'être contrôlant ou soutenant envers des comportements ou envers des pensées. Par exemple, des pratiques telles qu'obliger un enfant à jouer du piano pour impressionner les invités ou critiquer un enfant afin qu'il change sa façon de voir les choses peuvent toutes deux être qualifiées de contrôlantes, bien que la première cible les comportements de l'enfant et la seconde, ses pensées. Le terme « structure » est ainsi proposé dans ce modèle afin de remplacer le terme « contrôle comportemental » et le terme « contrôle » est réservé pour désigner les comportements contrôlants. Ces changements de terminologie ont donc donné lieu à une redéfinition des deux dimensions parentales: la *structure* (vs laisser-faire) et le *soutien à l'autonomie* (vs comportements contrôlants). La

présente thèse s'appuiera sur cette conceptualisation des pratiques parentales et sur la théorie qui la sous-tend, soit la théorie de l'autodétermination.

La structure

Grolnick et Pomerantz (2009; Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997) ont défini la structure comme étant l'organisation que les parents font de l'environnement de leurs enfants afin de faciliter leur fonctionnement. Pour ce faire, les parents soulignent les relations entre les actions des enfants et leurs conséquences en précisant leurs attentes et en instaurant des règles et des limites claires et cohérentes; ils donnent également aux enfants de la rétroaction à propos de leurs actions et ont recours à des conséquences lorsque leur comportement n'est pas conforme aux attentes explicitées (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). La théorie de l'autodétermination (TAD; Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000) suggère que la structure est bénéfique pour l'intériorisation, l'ajustement psychologique et le bien-être des enfants, car elle permet la satisfaction d'un des trois besoins psychologiques fondamentaux (avec les besoins d'autonomie et d'appartenance sociale), soit le besoin de compétence (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000; Grolnick, 2003). Selon cette théorie, la compétence fait référence au besoin d'interagir efficacement avec l'environnement afin d'atteindre les objectifs poursuivis (White, 1959). En agissant de façon structurante, les parents permettent à l'enfant de se sentir compétent en l'amenant à comprendre que son environnement est stable et qu'il a, de par ses actions, un impact prévisible sur ce dernier.

Les études ayant examiné les impacts de la structure telle que définie par Grolnick et Pomerantz (2009) ont souligné les bienfaits de cette dimension parentale. Par exemple, Grolnick et Ryan (1989) ont montré que les enfants ayant des parents structurants se sentent et sont, dans les faits, plus compétents dans le domaine scolaire. En se basant sur des entrevues

menées auprès d'enfants du primaire, Grolnick, Raftery-Helmer, Marbell, Flamm, Cardemil et Sanchez (2014) ont montré que la structure parentale dans le domaine des activités non supervisées (p. ex., les temps libres) était associée, entre autres, à un plus grand sentiment de compétence chez les enfants lorsqu'ils s'adonnent à ces activités. Aussi, les travaux de Mauras, Grolnick et Friendly (2013) suggèrent que la présence de structure parentale lors de conversations mères-filles à propos de la sexualité est associée, entre autres, à une plus grande satisfaction, à un plus grand engagement et à un plus grand désir d'avoir d'autres conversations à ce sujet dans le futur.

D'autres études ayant utilisé des conceptualisations connexes à la dimension de structure ont également suggéré une relation positive entre cette dimension et le fonctionnement psychologique des enfants. Ainsi, différents auteurs ont montré que le contrôle comportemental est associé à une diminution des symptômes externalisés et à une augmentation de la réussite scolaire chez les enfants (Fletcher, Steinberg, & Williams-Wheeler, 2004; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007), alors qu'une supervision insuffisante (c.-à-d., peu de règles mises en place et une faible connaissance des activités de l'enfant) est associée chez les jeunes à davantage de délinquance, à du rejet par les pairs ainsi qu'à l'association à des pairs déviants (Larzelere & Patterson, 1990; Dishion, 1990; Dishion, Patterson, Stoolmiller, & Skinner, 1991).

Le soutien à l'autonomie

Le soutien à l'autonomie fait plutôt référence aux pratiques parentales qui communiquent à l'enfant que sa perspective et son individualité sont considérées et respectées. Le soutien à l'autonomie est opérationnalisé à l'aide de trois comportements prototypiques,

soit reconnaître la perspective et les sentiments de l'enfant, lui expliquer les raisons derrière les limites et demandes et lui offrir des choix (Joussemet, Landry, & Koestner, 2008). Ces comportements, pris dans leur ensemble, soutiennent l'autonomie de l'enfant en étant empathiques, descriptifs (c.-à-d., informatifs et neutres) et en permettant à l'enfant de participer activement aux décisions et à la résolution de problèmes. L'enfant apprend ainsi que son individualité est respectée, il comprend mieux l'importance des demandes parentales et il se sent davantage à l'origine de l'initiation et de la régulation de ses propres comportements (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). À l'inverse, les comportements contrôlants font référence aux techniques coercitives que les parents peuvent employer dans le but d'obliger les enfants à penser, se sentir ou être d'une certaine façon, sans considération pour leurs besoins ou leurs sentiments (Grolnick et al., 1997). Ils regroupent des pratiques telles que la manipulation émotive, l'emploi de critiques ou l'utilisation de menaces visant à contraindre les enfants à se sentir ou se comporter d'une manière prédéterminée (Barber, 1996; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Ainsi, les comportements contrôlants sont intrusifs, autoritaires et ils exercent une pression induite sur l'enfant.

Plusieurs études ont montré que le soutien à l'autonomie dans le contexte des relations parent-enfant est associé à de nombreuses conséquences positives, telles qu'une meilleure adaptation sociale et scolaire, de plus hauts niveaux de bien-être, d'estime de soi et de créativité, une motivation plus autodéterminée et de faibles niveaux d'émotions négatives et de symptômes dépressifs (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Grolnick, 2003; Grolnick, Gurland, DeCoursey, & Jacob, 2002; Joussemet, Koestner, Lekes, & Landry, 2005; Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri, & Holt, 1984; Niemiec, Lynch, Vansteenkiste, Bernstein, Deci, & Ryan, 2006; Teleki, Powell, & Claypool, 1984).

La structure soutenant l'autonomie

L'utilisation de pratiques parentales structurantes et soutenant l'autonomie semble ainsi avoir un effet bénéfique sur le fonctionnement psychologique des enfants (p. ex., Barber, 1996; Fletcher et al., 2004; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Wang et al., 2007). Bien que la plupart des recherches aient étudié l'impact de la structure et du soutien à l'autonomie séparément, celles qui ont examiné leurs effets de façon conjointe ont également démontré que ces deux dimensions étaient indépendamment associées au fonctionnement des enfants. Entre autres, Taylor et Roberts (1995) ont montré que le soutien à l'autonomie est positivement associé à la prise de responsabilités des adolescents et que la structure est négativement associée aux problèmes de comportements de ces derniers. Aussi, Grolnick et Ryan (1989) ont suggéré que les enfants ayant des parents qui soutiennent leur autonomie sont davantage capables de s'autoréguler à l'école, ont moins de comportements perturbateurs dans la classe, prennent davantage leurs responsabilités et ont de meilleurs résultats scolaires, alors que la structure parentale est plutôt associée chez les enfants à un sentiment de contrôle de leur environnement. À la lumière de ces études, il apparaît ainsi qu'il n'est pas suffisant pour les parents d'endosser une seule dimension parentale puisque la structure et le soutien à l'autonomie semblent avoir un impact additif sur le fonctionnement des enfants.

Compte tenu de l'importance pour les parents d'être à la fois structurants et soutenant, il est étonnant de constater que peu d'études ont examiné comment ces deux dimensions parentales peuvent coexister dans une même situation. En effet, la plupart des études qui mesurent ces deux dimensions parentales le font dans des contextes différents: la structure est habituellement évaluée en ce qui a trait aux règles et responsabilités, alors que le soutien à l'autonomie est plutôt mesuré dans des situations où l'enfant a, au contraire, une liberté

d'action (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Or, le véritable défi rencontré par les parents est justement de tenir compte de l'individualité et des sentiments de l'enfant lorsqu'ils doivent adopter des comportements structurants. À cet égard, deux études ont fait exception en examinant la façon (soutenant l'autonomie ou contrôlante) dont la structure pouvait être implantée (Grolnick et al., 2014; Koestner et al., 1984). Les résultats de ces deux études ont démontré qu'il est possible d'instaurer des limites d'une manière qui soutient davantage l'autonomie des enfants et qu'en retour, une structure soutenant l'autonomie est plus bénéfique pour leur développement qu'une structure contrôlante. Bien qu'elles proposent une opérationnalisation du soutien à l'autonomie et de la structure lorsqu'il est question d'instaurer des limites, ces études pionnières ne nous renseignent toutefois pas au sujet de ce que les parents devraient faire lorsque l'enfant enfreint ces limites. Pourtant, les parents constatent quotidiennement que le fait d'instaurer des règles n'est pas suffisant pour encadrer adéquatement les enfants puisque ces derniers enfreignent fréquemment les limites préétablies. Davantage de travaux sont ainsi nécessaires afin d'identifier des stratégies que les parents pourraient utiliser en situation de transgression et qui incarneraient à la fois les caractéristiques de la structure et du soutien à l'autonomie afin de favoriser le fonctionnement optimal des enfants. Le présent projet s'intéressera précisément à cette question en comparant trois stratégies spécifiques proposées dans la documentation.

La présente thèse

L'étude de Koestner et ses collègues (1984) mentionnée précédemment a montré qu'il est possible de mettre des limites d'une façon qui soutient l'autonomie des enfants. Lors d'une tâche de peinture, un expérimentateur demandait aux enfants de respecter certaines consignes en adoptant un style soutenant leur autonomie (c.-à-d., en reflétant leurs sentiments et en

expliquant pourquoi les consignes étaient importantes) ou en étant plus contrôlant (c.-à-d., en utilisant des termes tels qu'« il faut » ou « tu dois » visant à mettre de la pression sur les enfants afin qu'ils suivent les règles). Bien que tous les enfants se soient conformés aux limites, ceux qui étaient dans la condition de soutien à l'autonomie avaient davantage aimé la tâche, avaient une plus grande motivation intrinsèque par rapport à la tâche et avaient produit une oeuvre de plus grande qualité (Koestner et al., 1984). Cette étude suggère donc qu'il est possible pour les parents, à l'aide de comportements tels que le reflet de sentiments et l'explication des raisons derrière les demandes, d'instaurer des limites claires sans nuire au fonctionnement psychologique de leurs enfants. Il est donc proposé qu'une première stratégie à employer lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle pourrait être de lui répéter la règle de façon soutenante. Plusieurs auteurs (Baumrind, 2012; Grolnick et al., 2014) ont toutefois relevé l'importance de poser une action concrète devant les transgressions des enfants. Dans une situation où un enfant enfreint une règle, cette première alternative serait alors considérée comme une pratique peu structurante.

Baumrind est une des auteurs à avoir affirmé que les parents ont un rôle actif à jouer devant les transgressions des enfants. Dans des travaux récents, Baumrind (2012; Baumrind, Larzelere, & Owens, 2010) a suggéré que les punitions accompagnées d'explications concernant les règles et de reflets de sentiments constitueraient une stratégie optimale pour répondre aux transgressions des enfants. Les punitions sont communément décrites comme des sanctions négatives qui n'ont aucun lien direct avec la règle enfreinte et qui visent à déranger suffisamment l'enfant afin qu'il ne reproduise plus son mauvais comportement (Holden, 2002). Toutefois, certains auteurs ont avancé que les punitions pourraient conduire l'enfant à des sentiments de haine, de vengeance, de mépris, de honte et de dévalorisation

(Faber & Mazlish, 1980, 2000). Elles pourraient également empêcher l'enfant de faire face à ses comportements inappropriés puisqu'elles détournent son attention de la faute commise pour la rediriger vers le parent à travers des sentiments négatifs à son égard. De plus, les punitions pourraient prévenir le processus d'intériorisation en amenant l'enfant à se conformer aux règles en présence de la figure d'autorité afin d'éviter les récriminations, sans toutefois favoriser pleinement l'adhésion aux valeurs qui les sous-tendent (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Kuczynski, 1984). Ainsi, bien que Baumrind (2012) suggère que les punitions données dans un climat soutenant l'autonomie soient les meilleures pratiques lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle, il est permis de penser que leur nature contrôlante pourrait nuire à l'ajustement de l'enfant. Il importe donc d'envisager une alternative qui serait aussi structurante, mais qui tiendrait simultanément compte de l'individualité et de la perspective de l'enfant.

Plusieurs psychologues spécialisés dans les pratiques parentales ont suggéré que lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle, les parents devraient poser une action concrète afin d'amener l'enfant à faire face aux conséquences logiques de son mauvais comportement dans un climat qui soutient son autonomie (Duclos & Duclos, 2005; Ginott, 1965). Les conséquences logiques sont des stratégies directement en lien avec la règle enfreinte et dont le but est de régler le problème occasionné par la situation de transgression. Elles peuvent ainsi constituer une occasion pour l'enfant de réparer sa faute et lui fournir de l'information sur les actions à privilégier pour y arriver. Aussi, parce qu'elles sont en lien avec la faute commise, les conséquences ont plus de sens pour l'enfant et devraient ainsi être plus facilement acceptées, facilitant par le fait même le processus d'intériorisation des valeurs qui sous-tendent les règles (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Les conséquences logiques sont donc des

stratégies qui permettent de renforcer les règles (Grolnick et al., 2014) et qui semblent également soutenir l'autonomie de l'enfant.

En somme, dans les situations spécifiques où un enfant enfreint une règle, la documentation relève trois alternatives variant quant à leur niveau de structure parentale, mais aussi quant à leur nature soutenant l'autonomie ou leur nature contrôlante. À partir des travaux de Koestner et ses collègues (1984), il est d'abord proposé que les parents puissent répéter la règle à l'enfant, sans exercer davantage leur autorité. Les écrits de Baumrind (2012) suggèrent plutôt d'utiliser des punitions face aux transgressions de l'enfant. Finalement, différents psychologues ont proposé de recourir à des conséquences logiques dans les situations où un enfant enfreint une règle (Duclos & Duclos, 2005; Ginott, 1965). Par ailleurs, il a été suggéré que ces trois stratégies devraient être employées dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie de l'enfant afin d'avoir des effets bénéfiques. Or, à notre connaissance, aucune évidence empirique ne nous permet de nous prononcer sur la valeur relative de ces différentes stratégies, ni sur le rôle modérateur potentiel du climat interpersonnel sur leur impact. Pourtant, il apparaît primordial d'identifier spécifiquement les stratégies optimales à utiliser lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle afin d'aider concrètement les parents dans leur rôle quant à la socialisation des enfants. La présente thèse examinera donc l'impact de ces trois stratégies sur la socialisation des enfants en situation de transgression lorsqu'elles sont employées au sein de deux climats interpersonnels différents, soit un climat soutenant l'autonomie ou un climat contrôlant. Deux articles sont proposés afin d'étudier l'impact potentiel de ces pratiques sur différents aspects du processus de socialisation.

Article 1

Le premier article de la thèse s'appliquera à évaluer l'impact conjoint des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sur des indicateurs de conformité et d'intériorisation des valeurs rapportés par les enfants. Ces variables ont été identifiées dans la documentation comme étant déterminantes pour l'ajustement psychologique des enfants. En effet, l'action de se conformer aux demandes des parents constitue un aspect critique du développement des enfants (Dix, Stewart, Gershoff & Day, 2007). La recherche de conformité est importante puisqu'elle facilite entre autres le développement de la moralité, de l'autorégulation et de plusieurs autres compétences sociales chez les enfants (Dix et al., 2007). Aussi, lorsque les parents amènent leurs enfants à se conformer aux demandes, ils les engagent dans des interactions qui leur permettent de réguler leurs émotions (Feldman, Greenbaum, & Yirmiya, 1999), d'internaliser des comportements prosociaux (Kochanska, 2002; Kopp, 1982) et de coordonner leurs intentions et leurs actions avec celles des autres (Dix & Branca, 2003; Kopp, 1982). Dans la présente étude, les perceptions des enfants à propos de l'efficacité des stratégies afin de prévenir une future transgression seront évaluées afin d'obtenir des indicateurs de conformité.

Toutefois, l'action de se conformer seule est insuffisante puisque les parents souhaitent également que leurs enfants endossent leurs actions et agissent de façon appropriée même en l'absence de figures d'autorité (Grolnick, 2003). Selon la TAD (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000), l'intériorisation est définie comme étant le processus par lequel les individus acquièrent des croyances, des attitudes ou des comportements venant d'agents extérieurs et les transforment progressivement en valeurs ou régulations personnelles (Grolnick et al., 1997). Dans le contexte des relations parents-enfants, il s'agit donc pour les enfants de s'appropriier les

valeurs et comportements prônés par leur famille et par la société. Conformément à la proposition de Grusec et Goodnow (1994) au sujet des facteurs qui influencent l'intériorisation, les enfants participant à cette étude seront appelés à évaluer l'acceptabilité des stratégies parentales présentées.

Enfin, les perceptions des mères à propos des stratégies parentales seront également évaluées puisque les recherches suggèrent que les croyances parentales sont importantes dans le processus de socialisation des enfants et qu'elles influencent les pratiques utilisées (Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Bien que les perceptions des mères et des pères soient significatives dans l'étude des pratiques parentales optimales, pour des raisons méthodologiques et logistiques, seules les mères seront interrogées dans cette étude. En effet, ces dernières ayant davantage tendance à participer à des études en psychologie et considérant l'aspect novateur de ce projet, les ressources seront consacrées à leur recrutement. Les croyances des mères en terme d'efficacité et d'acceptabilité des stratégies parentales seront utilisées comme des indices de ce qu'elles jugent comme étant des pratiques optimales pour le développement de leurs enfants et des indicateurs de leur inclination à utiliser de telles stratégies dans la vie réelle.

En résumé, les enfants et leurs mères seront appelés à évaluer les niveaux d'efficacité et d'acceptabilité de différentes stratégies parentales présentées à l'aide de scénarios hypothétiques dans le but d'identifier celles étant les plus susceptibles de favoriser la conformité et l'intériorisation des normes, respectivement. Ce premier article sera soumis à la revue *Parenting : Science and Practice*.

Article 2

Le second article s'intéressera aux réactions émotionnelles des enfants face à ces mêmes stratégies. En effet, la recherche suggère que certaines émotions favorisent la conformité et l'intériorisation alors que d'autres semblent plutôt leur nuire (Buck, Vittrup, & Holden, 2007). Plus spécifiquement, l'enfant qui ressent une émotion telle que la culpabilité lorsque son parent lui communique sa désapprobation serait plus enclin à se conformer et à se sentir concerné par la transgression que s'il vit des émotions telles que la colère, la tristesse ou la honte (Buck et al., 2007; Hoffman, 1983). L'impact potentiel des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sur les émotions de colère, de tristesse, de culpabilité et de honte sera donc évalué. La méthodologie et l'échantillon d'enfants du premier article seront utilisés. Ce second article sera soumis à la revue *Social Development*.

Finalement, pour chacun des deux articles de la thèse, le premier auteur a assuré la revue de la documentation, l'élaboration des questions de recherche, la création des questionnaires, la collecte des données, l'analyse des données, l'interprétation des résultats et la rédaction du manuscrit. Le second auteur a assuré la supervision de chacune des étapes ainsi que la révision des articles.

Article 1 : The impact of rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates on mothers' and children's compliance and internalization beliefs

The impact of rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates on mothers' and
children's compliance and internalization beliefs

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Abstract

The literature on parenting suggests that in order to promote children's optimal functioning, parents need to adopt behaviors that are both structuring and autonomy-supportive (Grolnick, 2003; Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997). Yet, few studies have examined how structuring behaviors may actually be implemented in a more autonomy-supportive way (Grolnick, Raftery-Helmer, Marbell, Flamm, Cardemil, & Sanchez, 2014) with most studies focusing on the independent effects of these two parenting dimensions. In a notable exception, Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri, and Holt (1984) examined whether limits could be set in an autonomy-supportive way and found that autonomy-supportive limit-setting does not compromise children's creativity and intrinsic motivation compared to a no-limit condition. The present research extends these findings by looking at situations where structure and autonomy support seem incompatible, that is, when children disobey. A total of 221 children and 168 mothers rated the efficacy and acceptability of parental strategies presented in hypothetical scenarios. Three rule enforcement strategies (repeating the rule without authority exertion, punishments, and logical consequences) were evaluated in two interpersonal climates (autonomy-supportive vs. controlling). Results first showed that the effects of rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates were interactive using mothers' report and additive using children's reports. Mothers rated giving a consequence in an autonomy-supportive climate as the most effective and acceptable strategy. Children also thought that autonomy-supportive climates were more effective and acceptable than controlling ones. Importantly, children believed that consequences and punishments were as effective in preventing future transgressions and that both strategies were more effective than repeating the rule. However, children rated consequences as more acceptable than punishments, but no

difference was found between the rated acceptability of consequences and repeating the rule. The theoretical and methodological implications of these findings in terms of compliance and internalization of the rules are discussed.

Keywords: autonomy support; compliance; consequences; internalization; punishments; rule enforcement; self-determination theory; structure

Résumé

La documentation sur les pratiques parentales suggère qu'afin de promouvoir le fonctionnement optimal de leurs enfants, les parents devraient adopter des pratiques qui sont structurantes et qui soutiennent l'autonomie (Grolnick, 2003; Grolnick, Ryan & Deci, 1997). Toutefois, peu d'études se sont penchées sur la façon dont les parents peuvent fournir de la structure tout en soutenant l'autonomie des enfants (Grolnick, Raftery-Helmer, Marbell, Flamm, Cardemil, & Sanchez, 2014). Une rare étude (Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri, & Holt, 1984) ayant abordé cette question a montré que les limites implantées de façon à soutenir l'autonomie ne nuisaient pas à la créativité et à la motivation intrinsèque des enfants, comparativement à un groupe où il n'y avait pas de limites. La présente étude poursuit les travaux dans ce domaine en s'intéressant à des situations où il semble difficile d'être structurant tout en soutenant l'autonomie des enfants, c'est-à-dire dans des situations où les enfants transgressent les règles. Au total, 221 enfants et 168 mères ont évalué l'efficacité et l'acceptabilité de pratiques parentales présentées à l'aide de scénarios hypothétiques. Trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles (répéter la règle sans exercice de l'autorité, les punitions et les conséquences logiques) étaient évaluées alors qu'elles étaient utilisées dans un climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie ou dans un climat interpersonnel contrôlant. Les résultats suggèrent d'abord que les stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et le climat interpersonnel ont un effet interactif selon les mères et un effet additif selon les enfants. Plus précisément, les résultats montrent que les mères considèrent que les conséquences utilisées dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie des enfants constituent les pratiques les plus efficaces et les plus acceptables. De leur côté, les enfants considèrent aussi le climat interpersonnel qui soutient l'autonomie comme étant plus efficace et plus acceptable qu'un climat interpersonnel

contrôlant. De plus, les résultats ont montré que les enfants pensent que les conséquences et les punitions sont plus efficaces que répéter la règle pour prévenir les transgressions futures. Toutefois, les conséquences sont jugées comme étant plus acceptables que les punitions et tout aussi acceptables que répéter la règle. Les contributions théoriques et méthodologiques de cette étude sont discutées.

Mots-clés : conséquences; intériorisation; obéissance; punitions; renforcement des règles; soutien à l'autonomie; structure; théorie de l'autodétermination

The Impact of Rule Enforcement Strategies and Interpersonal Climates on Mothers' and Children's Compliance and Internalization Beliefs

As primary authority figures, parents are entrusted with the important role of socializing their children, i.e., of fostering the internalization of the rules and values that will enable them to function optimally in their community (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Research suggests that autonomy-supportive behaviors, such as reasoning and offering choices, are linked to value internalization (Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone, 1994; Joussemet, Koestner, Lekes, & Houliort, 2004). There is also evidence showing that providing structure, in the form of rule-setting and expectations, is linked to lower levels of externalizing problems, suggesting better norm internalization in addition to value internalization (Barber, 1996). Despite the importance of both autonomy-supportive and structuring behaviors, few studies have examined how structure may actually be implemented in a more autonomy-supportive way (Grolnick et al., 2014), with most studies focusing on the independent effects of these two parenting dimensions. Yet, there are many situations in which structure and autonomy support (AS) seem incompatible, such as when children disobey. While most researchers agree that in order to maintain high structure, children's misbehaviors should be met with rule enforcement (e.g., Baumrind, 2012; Grolnick et al., 2014), how parents may enforce rules while being autonomy-supportive remains unclear. The present study investigates the value of three rule enforcement strategies that are assumed to vary in the degree of structure and AS they convey. These strategies will be evaluated in terms of their efficacy to prevent future transgressions and their acceptability, while controlling for the effect of interpersonal climates (autonomy-supportive vs. controlling).

Two Fundamental Parenting Components: Structure and AS

Structure is an essential component of optimal parenting (Barber & Olsen, 1997; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). To provide structure is to set and to enforce clear and consistent rules and expectations (Barber & Olsen, 1997; Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Research suggests that parental structure is important because it helps create a world that is predictable and coherent for children, which reduces stress and uncertainties (Farkas, 2006). Self-determination theory (SDT) also posits that structure leads to greater competence because by setting limits and providing feedback, parents guide their children's behaviors toward greater mastery (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Guidelines therefore reassure children by clarifying what is expected of them and by helping them predict how others will respond to their actions. In previous studies, the provision of structure has been positively associated with children's perceived and actual competence in the academic domain (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989), classroom engagement (Reeve, Jang, Carrell, Jeon, & Barch, 2004), and perceived control and self-worth (Skinner, Johnson, & Snyder, 2005). The opposite of structure has been referred to as permissiveness (Becker, 1964), *laissez-faire* (Skinner et al., 2005) or chaos (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010).

In addition to structure, research has highlighted the importance of AS for children's adjustment and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Within SDT, autonomy refers to children's sense of agency and ownership of their behaviors. Children feel autonomous when they are allowed and encouraged to make choices that reflect their own values and interests (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Perceptions of autonomy also emerge when children understand the importance of the requested behaviors and when they are recognized as unique and separate individuals (Deci et al., 1994; Koestner et al., 1984). AS is thus not limited to providing

choices but rather refers to parents' respect and consideration for children's internal frame of reference (Grolnick et al., 1997; Ryan, Deci, Grolnick, & LaGuardia, 2006). AS has typically been operationalized as 1) acknowledging the child's thoughts and feelings, 2) offering meaningful rationales for rules and demands, and 3) providing choices and opportunities for initiative-taking (Black & Deci, 2000). These behaviors are autonomy-supportive because they are empathic, descriptive (i.e., informational and neutral), and/or they provide opportunities for active participation (Koestner et al., 1984; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991). The opposite of AS is control, where children are pressured and coerced to think and be in a way that corresponds to their parent's or someone else's desires (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Controlling parenting is typically characterized by intrusive demands, love withdrawal, threats, and shaming. These behaviors share the distinctive features of being intrusive, dominating, and/or pressuring.

Past research has supported the benefits of AS in various contexts. For example, AS is related to accrued persistence in mastering a task, better competence and infant security of attachment when mother and child are engaged in play (Grolnick, Frodi, & Bridges, 1984; Frodi, Bridges, & Grolnick, 1985; Whipple, Bernier, & Mageau, 2011). When introducing an uninteresting task, results have shown that autonomy-supportive behaviors are related to better self-regulation compared to rewards (Joussemet et al., 2004). When setting limits to children, Koestner and his colleagues (1984) have shown that AS does not reduce creativity and intrinsic motivation. Although not in the SDT theoretical framework, other behaviors related to AS have also proven to be beneficial for the parent-child relationship. For instance, in the guided-learning domain (Grusec, 2011), where mothers are helping their child learn cognitive, social, and emotional skills, adopting behaviors such as reasoning and recognizing the child's

challenges has been related to greater physiological adaptation and behavioral regulation of emotions (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996), as well as fewer behavior problems in middle childhood and early adolescence (Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 1997). Yet, despite a growing number of studies supporting the benefits of this parenting component across contexts, AS has never been studied in the context of rule enforcement.

Rule Enforcement Context

The context of rule enforcement constitutes a compelling environment to investigate parental practices. When children break rules and cross limits, which they inevitably do because they are still in the process of developing self-regulation, parents are placed in situations where they need to find the most optimal way to intervene in order to maintain high structure while supporting their child's autonomy. However, it is in this precise context that it seems impossible for parents to exert their authority while still considering their child's internal frame of reference. Importantly, a recent study suggested that situations where adolescents misbehaved or broke a rule were also those where they reported having learned the most about an important value, lesson or moral (Vinik, Johnston, Grusec, & Farrell, 2013), thus stressing the necessity of better understanding how non-detrimental rule enforcement can be accomplished.

Researchers agree that rule enforcement should be an integral part of structure (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009; Baumrind, 2012), however, few studies have investigated *how* rules should be enforced, and even fewer studies have examined how rules may be enforced in an autonomy-supportive manner. In the SDT literature, the specific behaviors used to operationalize AS have varied across studies, suggesting that how parents can show

consideration and respect for a child's internal frame of reference changes according to the context in which the interaction occurs. For instance, when mothers and their children are involved in play, Frodi and her colleagues (1985) showed that autonomy-supportive behaviors such as verbal cues or feedback and holding the toy in place so that the child can manipulate it helped maintain the child's ongoing activity. In the context of learning uninteresting but important tasks, Joussemet and her colleagues (2004) found that rationales helped children understand why they should get involved in these tasks, which ultimately fostered autonomous internalization. When children are dealing with painful feelings (Joussemet, Mageau, & Koestner, 2014) or when friends provide mutual support in the context of goal pursuit (Koestner, Powers, Milyavskaya, Carbonneau, & Hope, 2014), empathy and acknowledgement of feelings were predictive of positive outcomes. Taken together, these studies suggest that what is autonomy-supportive may differ from one context to another. As a starting point to investigate autonomy-supportive behaviors in rule enforcement situations, we turn to the context of limit-setting, the context most similar to rule enforcement situations that has received empirical attention.

The context of limit-setting. Koestner and his colleagues (1984) were the first to investigate whether limits could be set in a more autonomy-supportive way, with the aim of protecting children's intrinsic motivation and creativity. Using an experimental design, they asked children to engage in a painting activity under three conditions: no-limit, autonomy-supportive limit-setting and controlling limit-setting. Autonomy-supportive behaviors were operationalized using the work of Ginott (1965) on empathic limit-setting. Specifically, the experimenter provided a rationale for the imposed limits and acknowledged the child's feelings about these limits. In the controlling condition, limits were stated in a pressuring

manner using terms like “should” and “must”, whereas in the no-limit condition, the experimenter made no reference to the limits mentioned in the first two conditions. Results showed that setting limits in an autonomy-supportive way did not undermine intrinsic motivation and creativity compared to the no-limit control group. In contrast, limits set in a controlling manner resulted in a decrease in intrinsic motivation and overall quality of the painting compared to the autonomy-supportive limit-setting groups. This study suggested that it is possible to be autonomy-supportive during limit-setting and that these behaviors may protect children from the potentially controlling nature of limits.

Recently, Grolnick and her colleagues (2014) examined parents’ provision of structure and whether it was implemented in an autonomy-supportive or controlling manner. Using child’s reports of parental practices in the domains of school (i.e., homework and studies), unsupervised time and responsibilities, Grolnick and her colleagues coded the extent to which rules were set in an autonomy-supportive or controlling manner using four components: 1) the joint establishment of rules and expectations, 2) open exchanges about the rules, 3) empathy, and 4) the provision of choices. Results showed that when rules were set in a more autonomy-supportive manner, children reported less maladaptive control beliefs (i.e., believing that luck or unknown factors determine success or failure) and higher perceived competence in the unsupervised time domain; more competence, more engagement, greater perceptions of control and better grades in the school domain; and greater perceptions of control and less maladaptive control beliefs in the responsibility domain. This study further documents that it is possible for parents to be more autonomy-supportive when setting rules and that more autonomy-supportive rule-setting seems beneficial to children’s functioning.

Rule enforcement strategies. In both Koestner et al.'s (1984) and Grolnick et al.'s (2014) studies, autonomy-supportive behaviors were successful in setting limits and children's compliance was presumably obtained. However, the efficacy of such autonomy-supportive behaviors to enforce rules if children would have refused to comply was not tested. It is possible that, for some children, being reminded of the rules in an autonomy-supportive way after initial non-compliance is all that is required to help them regulate their behavior. However, it seems likely that when children persist in misbehaving, some authority exertion might become necessary to enforce rules and, importantly, to prevent future rule-breaking. The present study contrasts two authority exertive strategies with repeating the rules: punishments and logical consequences.

In recent work, Baumrind (2012) stressed the importance of authority exertion in disciplinary contexts, which she defined as the force applied by a parent in a conflict of wills with children. She argued that confrontive power assertion, which is reasoned, negotiable, outcome-oriented, and focused on regulating behaviors, is effective to obtain compliance without being detrimental, compared to coercive power assertion, which is rather arbitrary, peremptory, domineering, and concerned with marking status distinctions. However, in this study, parenting goals (e.g., to regulate the child's behavior), rather than specific parental behaviors, were sometimes used to operationalize confrontive power assertion. When efforts were made to translate confrontive power assertion into concrete parental actions, it was suggested that punishments given within an interpersonal climate qualified by reasoning and responsiveness to the child's wishes and needs represent the optimal rule enforcement strategy. Punishments are commonly defined as actions that are meant to make the child comply with the broken rule or intended to suppress an undesirable behavior (Holden, 2002);

they usually entail some form of constraint or deprivation of privileges, such as prohibiting the use of a certain toy or forbidding participation in a given activity. The value of punishments paired with reasoning and responsiveness as a form of confrontive power assertion has however never been tested empirically.

From the SDT perspective, Baumrind's (2012) description of the optimal interpersonal climate in which punishments should occur can be said to be autonomy-supportive, and as such, should be beneficial for child outcomes. However, punishments, regardless of the context in which they occur, would be considered controlling because their principal aim is to obtain compliance, with little or no concern for the informational value of the parental action. Punishments are indeed used as negative reinforcements, whose goal is to make the child "mind" to prevent the recurrence of the inappropriate behavior (Holden, 2002). Punishments are thus based on the child's interests (i.e., what he/she will most mind losing), the severity of the offence (i.e., more severe offences translate into more severe punishments) or the parent's mood (i.e., how much the parent feels the child must pay) to a greater extent than on the informational value of the parent's action with regards to the child's actual misdeed. Because punishments are not related to the child's transgression, they are unpredictable and do not allow children to have a clear understanding of how their actions impact their surroundings (Farkas, 2006). Punishments are also related to feelings of rejection, fear, vengeance and low self-esteem in children (Faber & Mazlish, 1980, 2000). Finally, punishments are likely to prevent the internalization of the values underlying the requested behavior by making children fear parental authority (Kochanska & Thompson, 1997; Kochanska & Kim, 2012) and by focusing them on how to respond appropriately to authority figures instead of on the values inherent in their parents' demands (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Grolnick, 2003; Kuczynski, 1984).

Considering these negative consequences and the negative child outcomes related to controlling behaviors (Barber, 1996), it seems important to consider alternatives to punishments that would be more autonomy-supportive, while still being authority exertive.

In the context of limit-setting, AS was successfully operationalized using Ginott's work (Ginott, 1951, 1959, 1965; Koestner et al., 1984). Following Koestner and his colleagues' insight, we also turn to Ginott's writings to define a more autonomy-supportive form of authority exertion in the context of rule enforcement. Ginott suggested that when verbal strategies fail and authority exertion is needed, parents should take action by letting children experience age-appropriate consequences for their action, which are logically derived from the rule-breaking behavior. Logical consequences are actions that are directly related to the child's misdeed and whose purpose is to stop the undesirable behavior or cease an unfortunate situation. For instance, a logical consequence when a child drops milk on the table could be to ask the child to wipe it clean with a cloth; when a child refuses to collaborate in a way that costs time for the parent (e.g., refuses to put on his socks in the morning), a logical consequence could be to give back this time by doing something (a chore) for the parent later on.

Logical consequences differ from punishments in their form, but also in what they are meant to instill in children. Contrary to punishments, logical consequences are hypothesized to be more autonomy-supportive because they are more respectful, they provide children with information about their wrongdoing and how to offer reparation and they leave room for active participation in this reparative endeavor. Hence, by asking children to apologize when somebody's feelings were hurt or to clean up a mess they created, parents help them learn how they can deal with such situations and guide them towards using their own inner resources to

understand the necessities of the situation (Hoffman, 1970b). This opportunity to repair also helps children to regain the self-esteem that might have been affected by their wrongdoing. Also, since the goal of the consequence is not to make the child “pay” for his rule-breaking, parents can be sensitive to the child’s difficulties and participate in helping the child solve the problem, therefore providing positive modeling on how to deal with a difficult situation. Importantly, because logical consequences are related to the child’s misdeed, they facilitate the understanding of why the parent took action and of the moral principles that underlie the parent’s rules, thereby promoting socialisation. Indeed, when the consequence is logical, the message that the parent tries to convey is more easily accepted because the action taken makes sense to the child and seems legitimate given the broken rule (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

In sum, the parenting literature suggests different alternatives to enforce rules in rule-breaking situations. When children persist in breaking a rule, parents can engage in the classical autonomy-supportive behaviors without authority exertion, for example, by repeating the rule. They can also take action, either in the form of punishments or in the form of logical consequences. These three propositions certainly differ in their meaning for and impact on the child; yet, their efficacy to prevent future transgression has seldom been tested and they were never compared in a single study. In addition, in light of Baumrind’s (2012) proposition that the interpersonal climate should moderate the impact of punishments (punishments qualified by reasoning proposed as best practice) and in line with the literature suggesting that AS is an essential component of parenting, it seems crucial that the value of these different rule enforcement strategies be tested in different interpersonal climates.

The Present Research

The goal of the present study was thus to test these three rule enforcement strategies (i.e., repeating the rule, punishments, and logical consequences) and to see if their effect was moderated by the interpersonal climate (autonomy-supportive vs. controlling). Rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates were experimentally manipulated using comic strips depicting mother-child interactions during rule-breaking situations. The interpersonal climate was manipulated by changing what the mother said when the child initially refused to comply at the beginning of the interaction. The three rule enforcement strategies were manipulated through the ending of each comic strip. After each comic strip, mothers' and children's beliefs were evaluated.

Parenting research has highlighted two important and different socialization goals, namely compliance and internalization. Compliance refers to the child's respect of parental directives and requests (Dix, Stewart, Gershoff & Day, 2007). For instance, a child complying with a parental request would brush his teeth when one of his parents would ask him/her to do so. Parents report that compliance is a principal childrearing objective (Dix & Branca, 2003) and literature suggests that it facilitates the development of morality, self-regulation, and a range of social competencies (Dix et al., 2007). However, compliance alone as a socialization goal is insufficient because parents also wish for their children to endorse their actions and to act accordingly even in the absence of authority figures (Grolnick, 2003). Another parental goal is therefore the internalization of the rules, norms and values that organize society. Internalization is the process through which children acquire the attitudes, behaviors and values of external agents and progressively take them on as their own (Grolnick et al., 1997). Thus, a child who has internalized the reasons behind a parental request would brush his teeth because it is important for him and because he sees the value of having a good dental hygiene.

Considering the importance of these constructs, this study tested the impact of the rule enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates on indicators of both compliance and internalization. Perceived efficacy to prevent future transgressions was used as an indicator of compliance. In line with Grusec and Goodnow (1994) who suggested that the child's perception of the acceptability of the parental message is crucial in the internalization process, perceived acceptability of the parental practices was used as an indicator of internalization. Mothers' perceptions of efficacy and acceptability were used as indicators of what they conceive as optimal practices and indicators of their willingness to use these strategies in real-life, such that ineffective and unacceptable strategies would less likely be employed by mothers.

In line with previous research on the detrimental effect of controlling environments (e.g., Barber, 1996), it was expected that autonomy-supportive climates would be judged as more effective and acceptable than controlling ones. In addition, based on previous research suggesting the beneficial effects of authority exertion in disciplinary encounters (e.g., Baumrind, 2012), it was expected that strategies that included an element of authority exertion, such as punishments or logical consequences, would be perceived as more effective than only repeating the rule to prevent future rule-breaking. However, given the controlling nature of punishments, it was hypothesized that logical consequences would be evaluated as more effective and more acceptable than punishments. Finally, in line with SDT, it was expected that logical consequences would be better evaluated than punishments in both the autonomy-supportive and controlling climates. No interaction was thus expected between the nature of rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates in the prediction of perceived efficacy and acceptability.

Given that mothers' actual parenting style might influence the way participants (both mothers and children) evaluated the vignettes, all effects were also tested while controlling for the impact of mothers' actual structure and AS.

Method

Participants

Mothers and their child, aged between 9 and 12 years old, were recruited through 10 public elementary schools in Montreal, a Canadian city. A total of 221 children ($M_{\text{age}} = 10.42$; $SD = .07$) participated in this study (47% boys) and 168 of these children's mothers also participated (aged between 25 and 53 years old; $M_{\text{age}} = 39.61$ years; $SD = .42$; 11 mothers did not report their age). Most mothers reported being French Canadians (86.9%). The others were part of the Arab (3%), French (2.4%) or Hispanic (1.8%) ethnic group. Eighty-three percent of the mothers were in a relationship and 82% reported having graduated from cegep¹ or university. Regarding their income, 14% of the families had an annual income below 30 000\$, 50% earned between 30 000\$ and 100 000\$, and 36% earned 100 000\$ or more. Participants were thus primarily of middle-class socioeconomic status.

Procedure

Mothers were contacted through their child's elementary school and were given an information sheet describing the project along with a consent form. Mothers who agreed to participate in the study received a questionnaire to complete at home and were asked to return

¹ In the province of Quebec, the educational system includes two years of cegep studies between high school and university. Three-year technical programs are also offered in these facilities.

it to the experimenter using a pre-stamped envelope. Of the 259 mothers who agreed to participate and were sent a questionnaire, 168 (64.9%) returned their questionnaire completed. Mothers' questionnaires were completed in approximately 50 minutes.

Children who obtained parental consent were also invited to participate in the study. They completed their questionnaire in a designated classroom during regular hours with an experimenter; completion time was 25 minutes or less.

Experimental Manipulation

Mothers' comic strips. Mothers were presented with 24 comic strips, each composed of four vignettes depicting mother-child interactions when a child breaks a rule. They were asked to answer questions regarding the efficacy and the acceptability of the parental strategies after reading each comic strip.

Mother-child interactions in the comic strips varied according to two dimensions: interpersonal climate (autonomy-supportive; controlling) and rule enforcement strategies (repeating the rule without authority exertion; punishing the child; giving a logical consequence). The interpersonal climate was manipulated via what the mother said to the child during rule-reminding in the first three vignettes of the story. Autonomy-supportive mothers took the perspective of the child and recognized his/her feelings (e.g., "I see that you'd rather not brush your teeth now that you are already in bed."), and provided rationales for their requests (e.g., "It's important to brush your teeth every night in order to have nice white teeth."). In contrast, controlling mothers used guilt induction (e.g., "It's always the same with you... You never listen to me!"), and threatened the child (e.g., "If you don't go right away, you'll regret it!"). Rule enforcement strategies were manipulated in the last vignette of the

comic strips by changing the mother's reaction to the child's persistent disobedience. In the repeating the rule conditions, mothers exerted no authority other than repeating the rule after the child had broken a house rule or had been ignoring his/her mother's request for quite some time (e.g., "Victor, we brush our teeth before going to bed."). In the punishment conditions, mothers dealt with the rule-breaking by punishing the child, that is by taking action in a way that was unrelated to the child's misdeed (e.g., "Since you just don't listen to me, I forbid you to go to your friend's house tomorrow."). In the logical consequence conditions, mothers took action by letting the child experience the consequences of their behavior, that is by taking action in a way that was closely related to the child's misdeed (e.g., "With all this time spent discussing teeth brushing, there is no more time for a bedtime story.").

Crossing the two levels of interpersonal climates with the three levels of rule enforcement strategies yielded a 2 x 3 design with six experimental conditions: autonomy-supportive/repeating the rule; autonomy-supportive/punishment; autonomy-supportive/logical consequence; controlling/repeating the rule; controlling/punishment; controlling/logical consequence. To ensure validity, each condition was presented four times using four different real-life situations in which a child could transgress a rule. Two of them were non-compliance situations, where the child either refused to do his/her homework or refused to brush his/her teeth. The other two referred to behaviors that transgressed the parent's values. Specifically, the child either damaged his/her father's tools or called his/her sibling names. Repeating the four real-life situations in each of the six experimental conditions yielded a total of 24 comic strips. Each mother was presented with the 24 comics, such that the experimental design was a within-subject design. The order of appearance of the experimental conditions in the questionnaire was counter-balanced. For each of the six conditions, a reliability coefficient

was also calculated for each dependent variable (efficacy and acceptability) using mothers' answers to the four real-life situations. Finally, to improve mothers' identification with the vignettes, they were presented with comic strips in which the child was the same gender as their own.

Children's comic strips. Children's comic strips were the same as those presented to the mothers. However, children were presented with only half of them, to reduce the questionnaire to a more age-appropriate length. Specifically, two out of four real-life situations (the one where the child refused to brush his/her teeth and where he/she damaged his/her father's tools) were chosen for each of the six experimental conditions and those were counter-balanced. To improve children's identification with the vignettes, the child's gender in the comic strips was the same as theirs. As it was the case for mothers, children were asked to rate the efficacy and acceptability of the mother's parental strategies in the comic strip following each condition.

Dependent Variables

Mothers: Efficacy to prevent future transgression. After reading each comic strip, mothers were asked to evaluate the efficacy of the parental practices presented in the comic strip by rating the following statement using a 5-point scale (1 : *Little or not effective*; 5 : *Very effective*): "While thinking about the comic strip, please indicate the extent to which you believe that the mother's behavior will be effective in preventing this situation from repeating itself". Reliability coefficients, computed from the four real-life situations in each condition, varied between .79 and .89 across the six conditions.

Mothers: Acceptability. Mothers were also asked about the acceptability of these practices. Specifically, they were asked to rate the following statement: “While thinking about the comic strip, please indicate the extent to which you find that the mother’s behavior was acceptable”, using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Unacceptable*) to 5 (*Totally acceptable*). Reliability coefficients for this variable varied between .78 and .92.

Children: Efficacy to prevent future transgression. Children were asked to indicate the extent to which the mother’s behavior in the comic strip would ensure their compliance in the future. Using a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all true for me*) to 4 (*Really true for me*), they rated the following statement: “If my mother acted this way with me... I would brush my teeth next time”. Correlations, computed from the two real-life situations in each condition, varied between .76 and .88 across the six conditions.

Children: Acceptability. Children also evaluated the acceptability of these parental practices by rating this statement using a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not okay*) to 4 (*Totally okay*): “According to you, what the mother said and did in the comic strip was okay”. Correlations varied between .57 and .80 for this variable.

Trait Measures

After answering the questions about the comic strips, mothers and children completed measures assessing two dimensions of the mother’s parenting style, i.e., structure and AS.

Maternal structure. The 9-item structure vs. laxness subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold, O’Leary, Wolff & Acker, 1993) was used to assess the extent to which mothers set limits and enforce rules with their children as opposed to being more permissive. Mothers were asked to rate how they generally behave toward their children using 9-point bipolar

items, where one pole was anchored with structure items (e.g. “When my child won’t do what I ask, I take some other action”) and the other with laxness items (e.g. “When my child won’t do what I ask, I often let it go or end up doing it myself”). Higher scores on this subscale represent more structuring parental behaviors. The subscale has high internal consistency ($\alpha = .83$) and is associated with observational measures of laxness ($r = -.61$) and child misbehavior ($r = -.62$). It also differentiates mothers who visited a clinic because of extreme difficulties in handling their children from mothers who did not (Arnold, O’Leary, Wolff & Acker, 1993). In the present study, the scale’s alpha was .80, indicating good reliability.

Maternal AS. The 10-item Parenting Attitude Scale (Gurland & Grolnick, 2005) assesses the extent to which parents tend to support their children’s autonomy by evaluating their autonomy-supportive behaviors and their attitudes toward autonomy-supportive vs. controlling parental practices. Mothers rated each item on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). A sample item is « I encourage my child to give his/her opinions, even if we might disagree ». Higher scores on this measure represent a more autonomy-supportive parenting style. This instrument is reliable ($\alpha = .72$), has predictive validity, and is positively associated with a behavioral measure of autonomy-supportive vs. controlling behaviors ($r = .40$; Gurland & Grolnick, 2005). In this study, the Cronbach’s alpha for this measure was .70, indicating that reliability was satisfactory.

Perceived maternal structure. An adapted version of the structure vs. laxness subscale of the Parenting Scale (see above; Arnold et al., 1993) was used to measure children’s perception of the extent to which their mother sets limits as opposed to being permissive. Items (e.g., “When I do something my mother doesn’t like, she often let it go”;

“My mother lets me do whatever I want”; recoded items) were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*Almost never true*) to 4 (*Almost always true*). Higher scores on this scale represent more structuring parental practices. A 6-item version of this scale has been positively associated with child report of well-being in a previous study (Joussemet et al., 2014). In the present study, two of these six items were found to be unreliable such that a 4-item scale was used. The internal consistency of this 4-item scale was poor but acceptable ($\alpha = .54$).

Perceived maternal AS. The Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale for children (P-PASS; Joussemet et al., 2014; Mageau, Ranger, Joussemet, Koestner, Moreau, & Forest, in press) is an 18-item scale assessing children’s perception of the extent to which their mother supports their autonomy (9 items; e.g., “My mother can put herself in my shoes and understand how I feel”) and uses controlling strategies (9 reversed items; e.g., “My mother makes me feel guilty to make me do what she wants”). Children rated the statements on a 4-point scale (*Almost never true* to *Almost always true*). Higher scores on this scale indicate more autonomy-supportive parenting. This scale has a good factor structure and has been successfully used in past research to capture change in mothers’ autonomy-supportive behaviors following a workshop on key parenting dimensions (i.e., AS, structure, and affiliation; Joussemet et al., 2014). The internal consistency of the scale for this study was good ($\alpha = .79$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to conducting the main analyses, variables were scrutinized for missing values, univariate outliers and univariate abnormality. The number of missing values was limited

(missing value percentages ranging from 0% to 5.93%) and they were randomly distributed. The number of univariate outliers was also limited, ranging from 0 to 2 per variable; these were however replaced by scores corresponding to a Z score of 3.29 for each variable to limit their impact on the observed means (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Finally, the distributions of all variables were considered normal; kurtosis values varied between -1.07 and .52 across variables, while skewness values varied between -1.28 and .87. These values were thus within the recommended range (from -3 and 3; Kline, 2011).

Primary Analyses

The goal of the present study was to evaluate mothers' and children's beliefs about the efficacy and the acceptability of rule enforcement strategies, as moderated by the interpersonal climate in which they occurred, and considering participants' potential perceptual biases due to their own family context in terms of maternal structure and AS. The study's design included two within factors representing the experimental manipulation, that is, the rule enforcement strategies employed (3 levels; repeating the rule without authority exertion; punishments, and logical consequences) and the interpersonal climate in which these strategies occurred (2 levels; autonomy-supportive and controlling). To account for the perceptual biases that participants might have when evaluating the vignettes due to their own family context, participants' reports of maternal AS and structure were entered as a third and fourth factor. Specifically, the mean score for each variable was used to create high- and low-score groups. These dichotomous variables were then entered as two between-subject factors. MANOVAs were first conducted separately for mothers and children and significant effects were then tested for each dependent variable, through series of mixed-model ANOVAs. For clarity purposes, main effects of the experimental manipulations and their interaction will be

presented first for mothers and children. These results will then be nuanced by looking at their interaction with participants' reports of family context in terms of maternal structure and AS.

Mothers' perceived efficacy and acceptability

Rule enforcement strategies. There was a significant main effect of the rule enforcement strategies at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .34$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 148) = 72.40$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .68$. Further analyses² showed that this effect remained significant at the univariate level for both perceived efficacy, $F(2, 304) = 94.37$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .38$, and perceived acceptability $F(2, 302) = 68.42$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$. For perceived efficacy, post hoc comparisons showed that mothers believed that giving a logical consequence ($M = 3.26$, $SD = .95$) was more effective than punishing the child ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.00$), which in turn was perceived as more effective than repeating the rule ($M = 2.13$, $SD = .87$). Figure 1 presents these results. For perceived acceptability, logical consequences ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .78$) were judged as more acceptable than both punishment ($M = 3.02$, $SD = .88$) and repeating the rule ($M = 2.87$, $SD = .87$). Interestingly, no difference in acceptability was found between the two later conditions (see Figure 2).

Interpersonal climates. A significant main effect of the interpersonal climates was found with the MANOVA, Wilks' $\Lambda = .35$, $F_{\text{exact}}(2, 150) = 140.98$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .65$. This main effect remained significant at the univariate level for both dependent variables. Post hoc

² For each analysis, sphericity assumed F and corrected F s were the same, indicating that there was no violation of the sphericity postulate. We thus assume sphericity and present uncorrected F s.

comparisons showed that autonomy-supportive climates were judged as more effective ($M = 3.01$, $SD = .98$) than controlling ones ($M = 2.38$, $SD = .90$), $F(1, 152) = 110.70$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$. In addition, autonomy-supportive climates were also thought to be more acceptable ($M = 3.67$, $SD = .88$) than controlling ones ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .81$), $F(1, 151) = 283.82$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .65$.

Rule enforcement strategies \times Interpersonal climates. Results revealed a significant interaction between the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .89$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 148) = 4.46$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .11$. This interaction held for both perceived efficacy and acceptability when these dependent variables were analyzed separately, $F(2, 303.04) = 6.69$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$ and $F(2, 302) = 5.07$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, respectively. Further analyses indicated that the interpersonal climate accentuated the aforementioned differences in efficacy between rule enforcement strategies. Mean differences indicated that when mothers in the comic strips were depicted as autonomy-supportive, mothers perceived larger differences between rule enforcement strategies (logical consequences: $M = 3.65$, $SD = .97$; punishments: $M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.01$; repeating the rule: $M = 2.35$, $SD = .96$) than when the depicted mothers were controlling (logical consequences: $M = 2.87$, $SD = .94$; punishments: $M = 2.35$, $SD = .98$; repeating the rule: $M = 1.90$, $SD = .79$). All differences were significant.

Regarding acceptability ratings, when mothers in the comic strips were depicted as autonomy-supportive, differences in acceptability between the rule enforcement strategies were similar to those reported for the main effect, i.e., logical consequences ($M = 4.13$, $SD = .70$) were perceived as more acceptable than punishments ($M = 3.51$, $SD = .95$) or repeating the rule ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .98$), and no difference was found between these two latter

conditions. However, when mothers in the scenarios were shown in a controlling climate, mothers still judged logical consequences as the most acceptable practices ($M = 2.94$, $SD = .87$), but they also perceived a difference in acceptability between punishments ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .81$) and repeating the rule ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .76$), with punishments being more acceptable than repeating the rule.

Moderating effects of family context in terms of maternal structure and AS

There was no main effect of mothers' own provision of structure and AS on perceived acceptability and efficacy. In addition, no four-way interaction among the manipulated variables and the participants' parenting dimensions was found. Two three-way interactions (interpersonal climates x rule enforcement strategies x maternal AS; rule enforcement strategies x maternal AS x maternal structure) were significant at the multivariate level, but not at the univariate level. Three two-way interactions were found at the multivariate level (maternal structure x interpersonal climates; maternal AS x interpersonal climates; maternal AS x rule enforcement strategies). The three significant two-way multivariate interactions were then investigated at the univariate level.

Maternal structure. Although the interaction between maternal structure and the interpersonal climates was significant for the multivariate analysis, Wilks' $\Lambda = .92$, $F_{\text{exact}}(2, 150) = 6.10$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .08$, it remained significant only for acceptability when the dependant variables were tested separately, $F(1, 151) = 9.56$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Further analyses showed that, although all participants perceived autonomy-supportive climates as more acceptable than controlling ones, highly structuring mothers saw a greater difference in acceptability between the two conditions ($M_{\text{AS climate}} = 3.82$, $SD = .92$; $M_{\text{controlling climates}} = 2.55$, $SD = .73$)

compared with less structuring participants ($M_{AS \text{ climates}} = 3.48$, $SD = .85$; $M_{controlling \text{ climates}} = 2.70$, $SD = .89$).

Maternal AS. There were two significant interactions between mothers' own level of AS and the manipulated variables at the multivariate level (maternal AS x interpersonal climates, Wilks' $\Lambda = .87$, $F_{\text{exact}}(2, 150) = 11.43$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .13$; maternal AS x rule enforcement strategies, Wilks' $\Lambda = .93$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 148) = 2.93$, $p < .02$, $\tau^2 = .07$). These interactions remained significant for both efficacy and acceptability when tested separately. Further analyses showed that, although all participants perceived autonomy-supportive climates as more effective than controlling climates, more autonomy-supportive mothers perceived larger differences in terms of efficacy between the autonomy-supportive climates ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.00$) and the controlling climates ($M = 2.20$, $SD = .85$) compared to participants who were more controlling ($M_{AS \text{ climates}} = 2.95$, $SD = .95$; $M_{controlling \text{ climates}} = 2.55$, $SD = .92$), $F(1, 152) = 13.66$, $p < .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. The same was true for perceived acceptability, such that both autonomy-supportive and more controlling mothers rated the autonomy-supportive climates ($M_{AS \text{ mothers}} = 3.81$, $SD = .87$; $M_{controlling \text{ mothers}} = 3.53$, $SD = .90$) as more acceptable than controlling climates ($M_{AS \text{ mothers}} = 2.43$, $SD = .76$; $M_{controlling \text{ mothers}} = 2.80$, $SD = .82$), but this difference was accentuated for autonomy-supportive participants, $F(1, 151) = 21.77$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$.

Regarding the maternal AS x rule enforcement strategies interaction, results revealed that both more autonomy-supportive and more controlling mothers ranked the three rule enforcement strategies in the same order of efficacy than for the main effect, i.e., logical consequences ($M_{AS \text{ mothers}} = 3.29$, $SD = .97$; $M_{controlling \text{ mothers}} = 3.24$, $SD = .93$) perceived as

more effective than punishment ($M_{\text{AS mothers}} = 2.52$, $SD = .96$; $M_{\text{controlling mothers}} = 2.86$, $SD = 1.00$) which in turn was thought to be more effective than repeating the rule ($M_{\text{AS mothers}} = 2.09$, $SD = .85$; $M_{\text{controlling mothers}} = 2.16$, $SD = .88$), $F(2, 304) = 3.65$, $p < .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and these differences were significant whether the mothers were autonomy-supportive or controlling. However, the interaction suggests that more autonomy-supportive mothers thought that these differences were greater than more controlling mothers.

Finally, results revealed that all mothers (i.e., autonomy-supportive and more controlling ones) judged logical consequences as more acceptable than both punishments and repeating the rule (logical consequences: $M_{\text{AS mothers}} = 3.54$, $SD = .79$; $M_{\text{controlling mothers}} = 3.53$, $SD = .82$, $F(2, 302) = 6.87$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). However, only controlling mothers perceived a difference in terms of acceptability between punishment and repeating the rule, with punishments ($M = 3.16$, $SD = .86$) being judged as more acceptable than repeating the rule ($M = 2.80$, $SD = .89$). Autonomy-supportive mothers did not perceive a significant difference between these two conditions (punishments: $M = 2.87$, $SD = .86$; repeating the rule: $M = 2.94$, $SD = .80$).

Taken together, these interactions suggest that mothers' own parental practices influence their perception of the parental practices depicted in the vignettes, sometimes leading to accentuated differences in perceptions. However, the general pattern of differences between the conditions remained the same regardless of the participants' family context in terms of maternal structure and AS.

Children's perceived efficacy and acceptability

Rule enforcement strategies. There was a significant main effect of the rule enforcement strategies at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .87$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 164) = 5.90$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .13$. Further analyses showed that this effect remained significant at the univariate level for both perceived efficacy, $F(2, 382) = 9.00$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$), and acceptability, $F(2, 338) = 3.35$, $p < .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Post hoc comparisons revealed that children believed strategies relying on authority exertion ($M_{\text{logical consequences}} = 3.20$, $SD = .95$ and $M_{\text{punishments}} = 3.26$, $SD = .96$) to be more effective than repeating the rule ($M = 3.10$, $SD = .98$). Interestingly, children did not report any difference in efficacy between logical consequences and punishments (see Figure 3). In terms of acceptability, children believed that logical consequences ($M = 2.90$, $SD = .82$) were more acceptable than punishments ($M = 2.75$, $SD = .87$), but they did not report any significant differences between these strategies and repeating the rules ($M = 2.80$, $SD = .86$). These results are presented in Figure 4.

Interpersonal climates. The main effect of the interpersonal climates was significant at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .73$, $F_{\text{exact}}(2, 166) = 30.79$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .27$) and it remained significant for both efficacy, $F(1, 191) = 5.06$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and acceptability, $F(1, 169) = 60.24$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$. Children believed autonomy-supportive climates to be both more effective ($M = 3.23$, $SD = .94$) and more acceptable ($M = 3.04$, $SD = .80$) than controlling climates ($M_{\text{efficacy}} = 3.14$, $SD = .99$, and $M_{\text{acceptability}} = 2.59$, $SD = .90$).

Rule enforcement strategies \times interpersonal climates. There was no significant interaction between the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .96$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 164) = 1.85$, $p = .12$. Children thus perceived the

rule enforcement strategies in the same way whether they were conveyed in an autonomy-supportive or a controlling climate.

Moderating effects of family context in terms of maternal structure and AS

No main effect of maternal structure and AS on efficacy and acceptability was found. There was no significant four- or three-way interaction, and only 1 two-way interaction was significant at the multivariate level (perceived maternal AS x interpersonal climates). This effect was then investigated at the univariate level.

Perceived maternal AS. The interaction between perceived AS and the interpersonal climates was significant at the multivariate level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .93$, $F_{\text{exact}}(2, 166) = 6.57$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .07$, but remained significant only for acceptability at the univariate level, $F(1, 169) = 12.38$, $p < .00$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Results showed that, although all children rated autonomy-supportive climates as significantly more acceptable than controlling ones, children who perceived their mothers as more autonomy-supportive reported greater differences between the autonomy-supportive ($M = 3.12$, $SD = .76$) and controlling ($M = 2.50$, $SD = .90$) climates than children with more controlling mothers ($M_{\text{AS climates}} = 2.94$, $SD = .84$; $M_{\text{controlling climates}} = 2.71$, $SD = .89$).

Discussion

Results from the present study contribute to research on parenting in several ways. First, it suggests that, as was the case for limit-setting situations (Koestner et al., 1984), autonomy-supportive behaviors such as acknowledging the child's feelings and providing a rationale readily apply to the context of rule-reminding. Indeed, autonomy-supportive climates were evaluated as more acceptable, and importantly, as more effective than controlling climates by both mothers and children. These results are in line with numerous studies

showing a more beneficial impact of AS on value internalization compared to controlling practices (Deci et al., 1994; Joussemet et al., 2004). These findings also suggest that trying to influence children while still considering them as separate individuals deserving self-determination may be more effective to obtain future compliance than trying to force them by using controlling strategies such as threats or shaming. Based on these findings and on previous research showing that autonomy-supportive environments promote better self-regulation (Bernier, Carlson, & Whipple, 2010), one could argue that autonomy-supportive climates may at times even prevent children's transgressions from occurring by making rule-reminding more effective, which in turn would limit the number of situations where rule enforcement is needed. These results add to the SDT literature by showing the relevance of AS in the context of rule-reminding.

Second, the present research confirms Baumrind's (2012) proposition that authority exertion is important in rule enforcement situations. Mothers and children believed that taking action (through logical consequences or punishments) would lead to more compliance than relying solely on influence by repeating the rule without authority exertion. This finding is consistent with the literature stating that authority exertion is crucial for optimal socialization because children need parental guidance that protects them from engaging in socially unacceptable or even dangerous behaviors (Baumrind, 2012; Baumrind, Larzelere, & Owens, 2010). These results thus highlight the importance of structure as an essential parenting dimension (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Authority exertion, as a component of structure, provides children with feedback about their behaviors. Such feedback should facilitate the development of self-regulation, which in turn will enable children to interact with their environment more competently and effectively.

The present study however shows that the nature of authority exertion strategies influences the extent to which this parental behavior is perceived as acceptable, an indicator of subsequent internalization. Children reported that logical consequences (actions directly related to the misdeed) were as effective as punishments (actions focused on making the child mind, without concern for their informational value) to prevent future rule-breaking, whereas mothers rather believed that logical consequences were the most effective strategies. However, both mothers and children agreed that logical consequences were more acceptable than punishments, and not less acceptable than repeating the rules. Taken together, these findings suggest that logical consequences might be an alternative to punishments when authority exertion is needed. This type of authority exertion is more easily accepted than punishments by children, yet it is perceived to be as effective to obtain compliance. By being more acceptable and thus more easily internalized, logical consequences should make the achievement of long-term socialization goals possible while maintaining compliance. This finding greatly contributes to the parenting literature by offering new insights about the type of rule enforcement strategies that should be promoted. This finding also contributes to the SDT literature by suggesting that the concept of AS may also be relevant in the context of rule enforcement: enforcing rules in a way that is more autonomy-supportive may be possible through the use of logical consequences.

As a fourth contribution, this study adds to the empirical evidence showing that both an autonomy-supportive climate and the nature of authority exertion are important, such that the effects of punishments are not more positive when they occur in an autonomy-supportive interpersonal climate. Tests of interaction effects showed that punishments were not more acceptable or effective than logical consequences when given in an otherwise autonomy-

supportive climate. On the contrary, mothers perceived punishments as even less acceptable and effective than logical consequences when these strategies were employed in an autonomy-supportive climate compared to when they occurred in a controlling climate. Children's ratings of rule enforcement strategies were not modified by the interpersonal climate in which they occurred: Punishments were perceived as less acceptable than logical consequences whether they were employed in an autonomy-supportive or controlling climate. By highlighting the importance of both the nature of the rule enforcement strategy and the interpersonal climate, these findings suggest that to optimize socialization in rule-breaking situations, mothers need to balance structure and AS. A way to achieve this balance seems to be for mothers to show consideration for their child's internal frame of reference (i.e., by creating an autonomy-supportive climate) but also to engage in highly structuring practices that are also more autonomy-supportive (e.g., logical consequences). The idea that both structure and AS are required in rule-breaking situations is also supported by the fact that practices that were low on structure and conveyed in a controlling climate were judged the most severely (i.e., repeating the rule in a controlling climate).

Yet, there is some evidence that punishments are more effective, but not more acceptable, than repeating the rule when given in an autonomy-supportive climate. When given in controlling climates, punishments are perceived as both more effective and more acceptable than repeating the rule. This difference may be explained by the fact that punishments given in a controlling climate may be perceived as more coherent, and thus more acceptable, than when they are given in an autonomy-supportive climate. These findings suggest that in situations of rule-breaking, controlling rule enforcement is better than none (but worse than more autonomy-supportive ones, i.e., logical consequences). This interaction

between the interpersonal climate and the nature of the rule enforcement strategy observed with mothers' report warns us against focusing on a single parental strategy when offering parenting education, as this may limit coherence in the parent's behaviors. A more holistic approach where parents would be taught how to offer structure and AS in various contexts (e.g., when offering help, during play, when asking for cooperation, during rule-reminding, following children's transgressions of rules) may be preferable to increase coherence.

Finally, results show that mothers' own parental practices may influence their perceptions of parental behaviors. For instance, mothers who were more autonomy-supportive or structuring perceived greater differences between autonomy-supportive and controlling climates in terms of acceptability compared to mothers who were less autonomy-supportive or less structuring. More autonomy-supportive mothers also thought that the autonomy-supportive climates were more effective than the controlling ones, compared to more controlling mothers. Furthermore, while all mothers thought that logical consequences were more effective than punishments, which were more effective than repeating the rule, these disparities were accentuated for more autonomy-supportive mothers. Taken together, these results suggest that mothers who are competent on at least one parenting dimension, either structure or AS, seem better equipped to perceive differences in the parenting situations, hence the observed accentuated effects. Children whose mothers were more autonomy-supportive also perceived a greater difference between the two interpersonal climates in terms of acceptability. However, differences in perceptions as a function of mothers' actual parental practices were not systematic, thereby limiting their interpretation. Finally, while the acceptability pattern of the three rule enforcement strategies was similar for autonomy-supportive mothers, more controlling mothers perceived repeating the rule as significantly less

acceptable than punishments. It is possible that repeating the rule is more at odds with the values of more controlling mothers and is thus judged more severely. Future research is needed to better understand these interaction effects.

Despite this study's contributions to the parenting literature, some limitations are worth mentioning. First, rule enforcement was investigated using hypothetical scenarios, which limits the generalizability of the results. There might be important differences between what mothers and children think of parental practices observed in other families and how they perceive these same behaviors when they occur in their own life. In addition, variables such as children's temperament and developmental stage could interfere with compliance and internalization of the rules even if parental practices were perceived as effective and acceptable (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Also, believing that strategies are effective or acceptable does not necessarily mean that these behaviors will be used when mothers are confronted with disobedience in real-life situations. Grolnick (2003) suggested that although parents say they value autonomy, many nevertheless use controlling techniques for various reasons. They may lack the time and energy to implement more autonomy-supportive practices. They may have more challenging children who pull for more forceful techniques. Or, they may be more ego-involved such that their children's internal frame of reference becomes less important than their own self-esteem. Such pressures may be categorized as pressures from above (from the environment), from below (from their children) and from within (from themselves) respectively (Grolnick, 2003). Future research is thus needed to investigate if punishments and logical consequences are perceived differently in real-life settings and how they relate to different child outcomes.

Another limitation of this study is that the rule enforcement strategies were investigated for important rules only. Indeed, all the scenarios pertained to the moral or prudential domains (Smetana, 1997), where it involved the welfare of others or the child's health and security. Hence, it is not clear if using authority exertive techniques is justified in the conventional or personal domains, where rules are related to the context and are alterable or where actions have an impact only on the child himself. Additional studies are thus required to establish whether logical consequences are acceptable for all types of rule-breaking or if authority exertion is only justified for rules that pertain to domains highly valued by most members of a society, such as rules in the moral and prudential domains. In light of past findings suggesting that parental authority is less legitimate in the personal domain, we would expect that rule enforcement strategies would be less acceptable in this domain, but research is still needed to test this proposition.

Also, perceived maternal structure was assessed using an adapted 4-item version of the structure vs. laxness subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993) that demonstrated only poor internal consistency ($\alpha = .54$). In order to improve the understanding of the impact of perceived maternal structure on children's evaluation of interpersonal climates and rule enforcement strategies, it would be important to use a multi-item scale with sound psychometric properties in future studies.

Finally, it was assumed that logical consequences were more autonomy-supportive than punishments, but this proposition was not empirically tested. Consequences are more empathic (by being more respectful and fair), descriptive (by being more informational, neutral and behavior-focused), and they provide more opportunities for active participation (by involving the child in problem-solving), which should make them more autonomy-supportive

than punishments. Future research is needed to test if logical consequences, compared to punishments, do in fact support children's autonomy and facilitate internalization to a greater extent.

This research also has some methodological strengths worth mentioning. First, its experimental design allowed for direct comparisons of the effects of parental practices on perceptions of efficacy and acceptability. The scenarios to which participants were exposed were presented using comic strips, which helped participants to imagine the different real-life situations. Finally, the multi-informant approach of the study offers a more complete investigation of the parental practices. Children, in addition to their mothers, were interrogated because children's perceptions of the practices may greatly differ from their mothers' and it is ultimately the children's perception of parental behaviors that determine their development and socialization (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Schaefer, 1995; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992).

In conclusion, parents face children's resistance or transgressions almost daily. To enforce rules or not, and how rule enforcement should be implemented are difficult decisions that parents are constantly making. Despite their potentially detrimental impact on children's optimal development, these decisions are often based on parents' intuition as few studies have focused on the positive parental strategies that may be used in rule-breaking situations. Indeed, although the parenting literature points to the necessity of both structure and AS, how parents may support their children's autonomy in the context of rule enforcement had never been addressed. The present research suggests that mothers and children both agree that logical consequences used in an autonomy-supportive climate are the optimal practices to obtain compliance, while still promoting value internalization. These results should empower parents

to enforce rules more effectively by identifying more autonomy-supportive rule-reminding and rule-enforcing strategies. By acknowledging children's feelings about the rules and by providing valuable information about the importance of these rules, parents may encourage cooperation during rule-reminding, which should prevent rule-breaking and defiance. In addition, by favouring logical consequences over punishments, parents may enforce rules in a way that will be more easily accepted by their children, which in turn should promote internalization and prevent future rule-breaking, as well as nurture children's psychological functioning.

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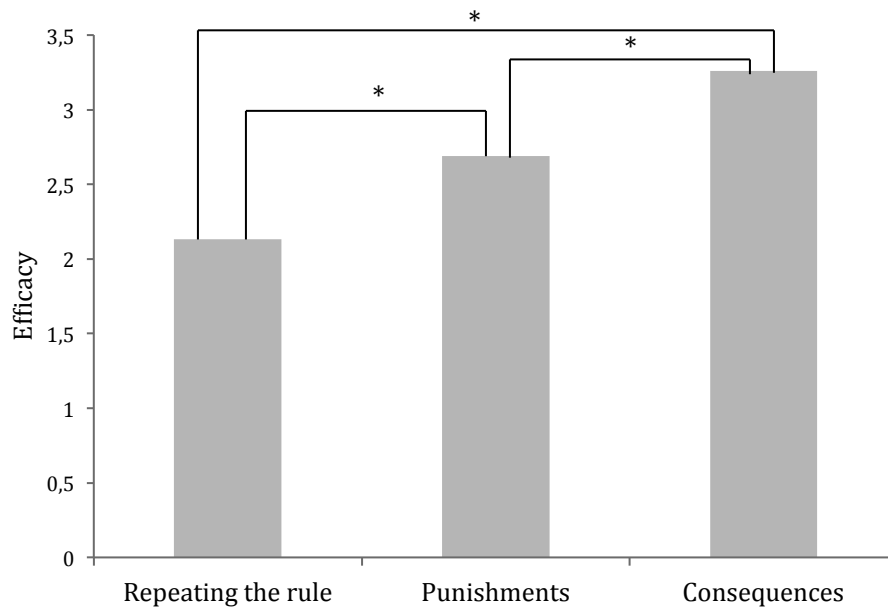
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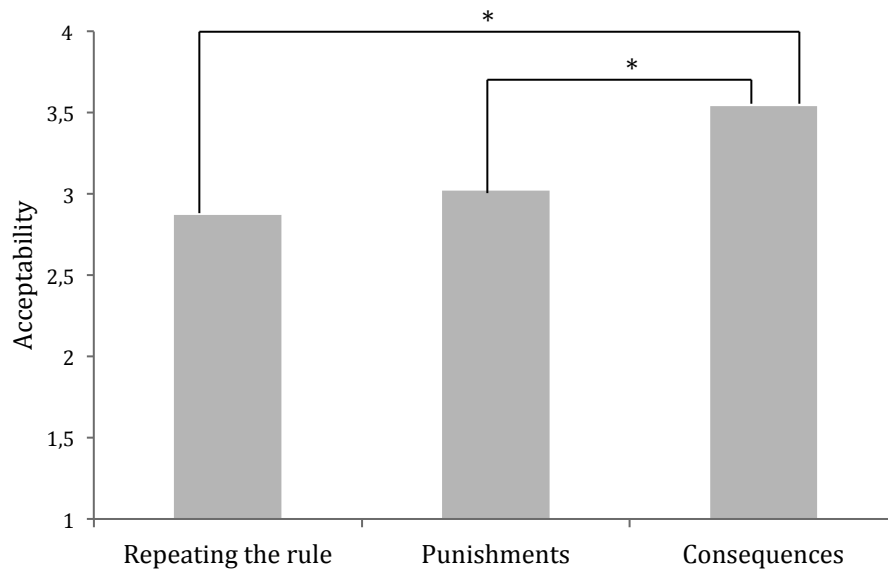
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Figure 1. Mothers' perceived efficacy of the rule enforcement strategies.



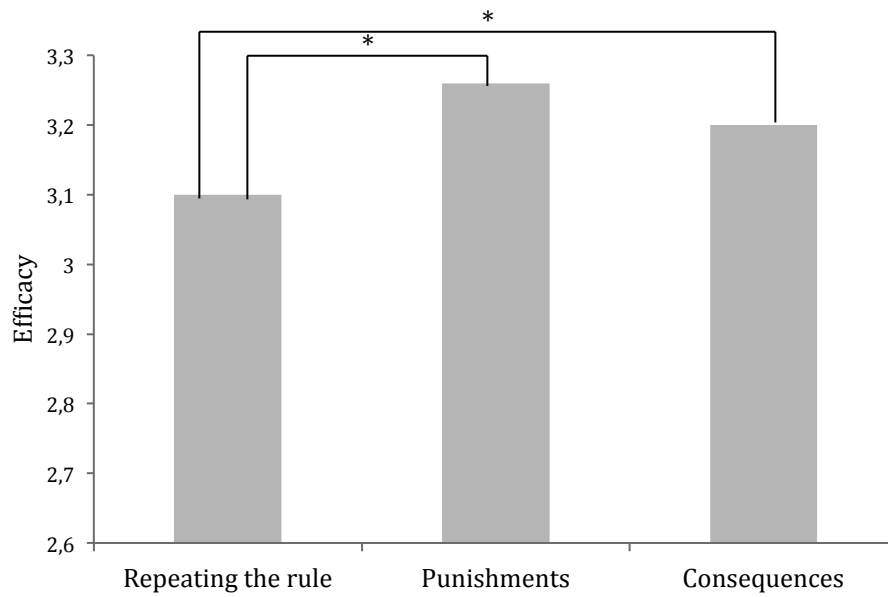
Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 2. Mothers' perceived acceptability of the rule enforcement strategies.



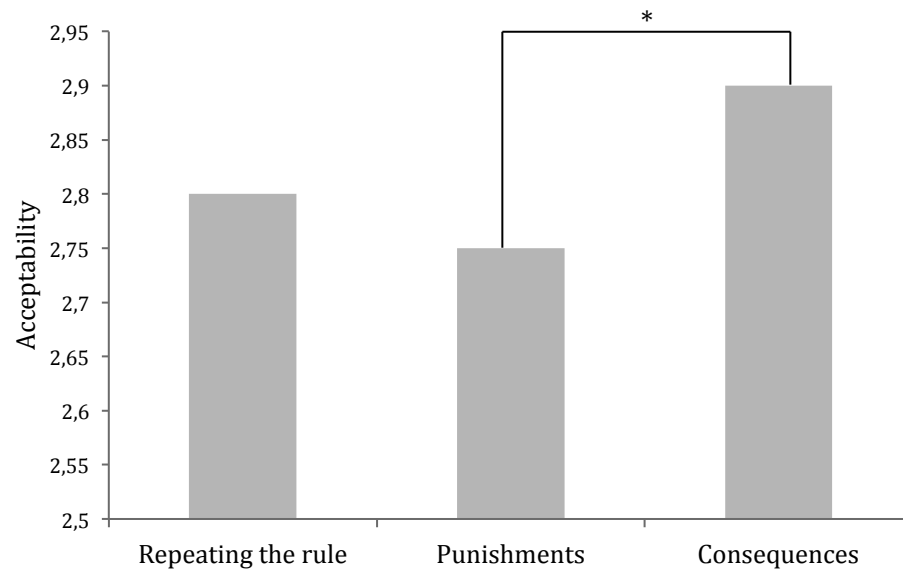
Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 3. Children's perceived efficacy of the rule enforcement strategies.



Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 4. Children's perceived acceptability of the rule enforcement strategies



Note: * $p < .05$.

Article 2 : Children's emotional reactions to rule-breaking scenarios

Children's emotional reactions to rule-breaking scenarios

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Abstract

Previous research on parenting suggests that adopting practices that are structuring and that support children's autonomy is essential for optimal socialization (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). In a recent study on rule-breaking situations, Lessard and Mageau (2015) investigated the effectiveness and acceptability of three rule-enforcement strategies (i.e., repeating the rule, punishments, and logical consequences) presented in autonomy-supportive or controlling interpersonal climates. Results showed that children judged logical consequences occurring in autonomy-supportive climates most favorably. The present study builds on these findings and investigates children's emotional reactions to parental use of these same rule-enforcement strategies and interpersonal climates when children disobey. A total of 221 children rated the extent to which they would feel angry, sad, guilty, and shameful when presented with these parental strategies in hypothetical scenarios. Results showed that controlling climates elicited more anger, sadness, and shame than autonomy-supportive ones, but there was no difference in guilt across the two conditions. Regarding rule-enforcement strategies, results showed that punishments would make children feel angrier than both consequences and repeating the rule. Children also believed that punishments would make them feel sadder and guiltier than consequences, which in turn would make them feel more sad and guilty than repeating the rule. Finally, results showed that punishments would elicit more shame than repeating the rule. No interaction was found between the interpersonal climates and the rule enforcement strategies, such that their effects were additive. Results are discussed in light of their contribution to the parenting and child development literature.

Keywords: emotions; parenting; rule enforcement; structure; autonomy support; self-determination theory

Résumé

La documentation sur les pratiques parentales suggère qu'afin de favoriser la socialisation des enfants, les parents devraient adopter des pratiques qui sont structurantes et qui soutiennent l'autonomie (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Dans une étude récente portant sur des situations où un enfant transgresse une règle, Lessard et Mageau (2015) ont évalué l'efficacité et l'acceptabilité de trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles (c.-à-d., répéter la règle, donner une punition ou utiliser une conséquence logique), présentées dans un climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie ou contrôlant. Les résultats de cette étude ont montré que les enfants considèrent les conséquences logiques présentées dans un climat soutenant l'autonomie comme les pratiques les plus favorables. La présente étude s'appuie sur ces résultats et poursuit l'étude de ces stratégies visant à renforcer les règles en s'intéressant aux réactions émotionnelles qu'elles suscitent chez les enfants. Au total, 221 enfants ont évalué ces stratégies à l'aide de scénarios hypothétiques et ont indiqué à quel point ils vivraient de la colère, de la tristesse, de culpabilité et de la honte si leur mère agissait ainsi avec eux. Les résultats suggèrent d'abord qu'un climat interpersonnel contrôlant amène les enfants à vivre plus de colère, de tristesse et de honte qu'un climat soutenant l'autonomie. Toutefois, les enfants ne rapportent aucune différence entre les deux climats en ce qui concerne la culpabilité. Ensuite, les résultats montrent que les punitions suscitent plus de colère que les conséquences logiques et que répéter la règle. Les enfants rapportent également plus de tristesse et de culpabilité pour les punitions que pour les conséquences, qui à leur tour font vivre plus de tristesse et de culpabilité aux enfants que répéter la règle. Enfin, les enfants rapportent plus de honte lorsqu'ils sont exposés aux punitions comparativement à répéter la règle. Finalement, les résultats suggèrent que les effets du climat interpersonnel et des

stratégies visant à renforcer la règle sont additifs; il n'y a pas d'interaction entre ces deux facteurs. Les contributions de cette étude à la documentation sur les pratiques parentales et sur le développement des enfants sont discutées.

Mots clés: émotions; pratiques parentales; renforcement des règles; structure; soutien à l'autonomie; théorie de l'autodétermination

Children's Emotional Reactions to Rule-breaking Scenarios

Society entrusts parents with the responsibility of raising moral and caring children. Previous research on parenting suggests that adopting practices that are structuring and that support children's autonomy is essential for optimal socialization (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Providing high structure while being autonomy-supportive may be particularly challenging in rule-breaking situations and yet, transgressions are a matter that most parents encounter on a daily basis. Although very few studies specifically investigated structure and autonomy support (AS) in situations where parents need to enforce broken rules, three main possibilities of action emerge from the literature: parents may use the classical autonomy-supportive behaviors (Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri, & Holt, 1984) without authority exertion, apply a punishment paired with reasoning (Baumrind, 1982) or require their child to deal with the logical consequences of their action while being autonomy-supportive (Faber & Mazlish, 1980; Ginott, 1965). In a recent study, Lessard and Mageau (2015) showed that children judge logical consequences and autonomy-supportive climates most favorably. However, the impact of such practices on children's emotions has not yet been evaluated. Given the pervasive role that emotions play in children's development (Halle, 2003), the present study evaluates the impact of these parental strategies (repeating the rule without authority exertion, punishments, and logical consequences) in rule-breaking situations, given in either an autonomy-supportive or controlling climate, on four important emotions: anger, sadness, guilt, and shame.

Optimal Parenting in Rule-breaking Situations

To be optimal, parenting should be both structuring and autonomy-supportive (Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997). When parents are structuring, they provide children with

clear and consistent rules and expectations that create an environment that is predictable and coherent; they also offer feedback to children about their actions and enforce rules when transgressions occur (Farkas & Grolnick, 2010, Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). AS refers to consideration and respect for children's ideas, feelings and initiatives (Grolnick et al., 1997). The opposite of AS is controlling parenting, characterized by parental pressure, intrusiveness, dominance, and power assertive techniques (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009; Joussemet, Mageau, & Koestner, 2014). The beneficial effects of both structuring and autonomy-supportive parenting have been well documented in past research (see Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009 and Moreau & Mageau, 2013, respectively). However, choosing parental strategies that embody these two dimensions can sometimes be challenging for parents. For instance, the way parents can successfully provide structure while supporting their children's autonomy when children transgress rules is still relatively unknown.

In an effort to better understand what constitutes optimal parenting in rule-breaking situations, Lessard and Mageau (2015) recently interrogated mothers and their child about the impact of three rule enforcement strategies on indicators of compliance and internalization, as moderated by the interpersonal climate in which they occurred (i.e., autonomy-supportive vs. controlling). These strategies were investigated using comic strips that depicted situations where the parent first reminded the rule to the child, who then ignored the parent's request. The first rule enforcement strategy did not include authority exertion and was operationalized as repeating the rule following persistent transgression. The second strategy included authority exertion in the form of punishments. Punishments were conceptualized as power assertive actions taken by the parent that rely on constraint or deprivation of privileges in order to obtain compliance. This strategy (paired with reasoning) has recently been advocated by

Baumrind (2012) as the most effective parental strategy. The third and final strategy that was investigated also implied authority exertion but in the form of logical consequences (Ginott, 1965). Contrary to punishments, logical consequences are actions that are directly related to the child's misdeed and whose purpose is to stop the undesirable behavior or cease the unfortunate situation. Logical consequences provide children with information on how to repair their misdeed, and as such, should be perceived as more autonomy-supportive than punishments. The three proposed strategies thus differed both on the degree of structure and AS they encompassed. Repeating the rule without authority exertion was conceptualized as low structure and high AS; punishments could be seen as highly structuring, but also highly controlling; logical consequences were postulated to be a combination of high structure and AS.

These strategies were investigated in two interpersonal climates, which were manipulated by changing how the broken rule was originally communicated to the child, before any rule-enforcement strategy was employed. The autonomy-supportive climate was created using two classical autonomy-supportive behaviors: to acknowledge the child's feelings and to offer meaningful rationales. It was hypothesized that by reminding the rule in an autonomy-supportive manner, parents would communicate their consideration of their child's needs and feelings, which would promote perceptions of autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Controlling rule-reminding was operationalized with two pressuring behaviors aimed at changing the child's behavior: to rebuke and to threaten the child.

Participants were exposed to each experimental condition and reported their perceptions of effectiveness and acceptability of the parental practices depicted in each comic

strip. Effectiveness was used as an indicator of compliance, while acceptability indicated the likelihood that internalization would occur in each situation. Children reported that being reminded of the rule in an autonomy-supportive manner was better than a controlling climate for both indicators of compliance and internalization. Regarding rule enforcement, children reported that logical consequences were as effective as punishments, but more effective than repeating the rule without authority exertion. These results suggested that, according to children, authority exertion is important for compliance. Yet, children perceived logical consequences as more acceptable than punishments, but not less acceptable than repeating the rule, and these differences were observed in both the autonomy-supportive and controlling climates. The effects of the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates were additive when predicting both effectiveness and acceptability.

Hence, Lessard and Mageau's (2015) study identified logical consequences paired with autonomy-supportive rule-reminding as the most promising alternative to foster internalization in children, without sacrificing compliance. However, this study was limited in scope, as it did not evaluate the impact of such practices on children's emotions. A body of literature advocates the importance of children's affectivity for internalization, parent-child relationship, and general well-being (Gershoff, 2002; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hoffman, 1983; Saarni, Campos, Camras & Witherington, 2006). It is thus important to also evaluate parental strategies in light of the emotions they arouse in children, as this would provide further evidence on the likelihood that such behaviors can facilitate the internalization of rules on the one hand, without undermining children's psychological functioning on the other hand.

Emotions and Internalization

Emotions are a key component of human functioning. Each emotion orients and influences attention, perception, cognition, and decision processes differently, and thus changes the experience one will have of a certain event (Dix, 1991). The present study focused on emotions known to influence the internalization process, namely anger, sadness, guilt, and shame. Anger is a negative emotion that comes from the appraisal that someone frustrated a significant goal or that unfairness occurred (Dix, 1991; Frijda, Kuipers, & Ter Schure, 1989). Anger tends to shift the person's focus outward, toward the object of anger, rather than inward, toward one's own self. In some circumstances, anger could even motivate retaliation behaviors against those responsible for the frustration (Gershoff, 2002). In the context of socialization, anger should not lead children to question their own behavior, nor should it increase their desire for reparation. It should also leave little room for reasoning to be heard and processed (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

Sadness is a negative, non-moral emotion that emerges from situations where one has been hurt or over which one feels little control or empowerment (Frijda et al, 1989). Sadness tends to elicit goal disengagement and thus does not foster action-taking (Saarni et al., 2006). It is also thought to signal to others one's need for closeness and support (Andrews & Thomson, 2009; Buss & Kiel, 2004). In the context of socialization, sadness is likely to focus children on their need for comfort, which may need to be addressed before any reparative actions can occur.

Finally, guilt and shame are moral and self-relevant emotions that occur in response to mishaps or transgressions (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). While guilt has been defined in a variety of ways, in the social and developmental literature it usually refers to feelings of regret over one's wrongdoing (Eisenberg, 2000). It focuses the person on specific behaviors and does

not affect his/her core identity (e.g., “I did something bad”). Guilt that is associated with regret or remorse has been shown to promote prosocial behaviors (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Shame, on the other hand, involves a negative evaluation of the entire self that is viewed as inferior, flawed (e.g., “I am a bad person”). Such an experience is overwhelming and often brings a sense of worthlessness. Because of its self-threatening nature, shame can lead to defensive attempts to protect the self, such as the shift of one’s hostility outward, which can then foster feelings of anger (Tangney, 1991). In the context of socialization, guilt should reflect that children acknowledge their misbehaviors, which should in turn foster desires for reparative actions, while shame is likely to lead to children’s withdrawal and avoidance in order to preserve self-esteem, or to promote feelings of anger and aggression.

Empirical evidence supports the proposition that children’s emotional state during parent-child interactions play an important role in internalization. In particular, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) proposed that emotions influence the perception of the parental message. Anger and shame, for instance, tend to monopolize the child’s attention and can be overwhelming, thus limiting the attention resources that the child can devote to understanding the parental intervention (Buck, Vittrup, & Holden, 2007; Vinik, Johnston, Grusec, & Farrell, 2013). Research also suggests that some emotions, such as shame, shift the focus from the interaction toward protecting the self. Such strong negative emotions can bring the child to ignore, misperceive or misunderstand the parental message (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), which in turn threatens internalization.

Children also make attributions about their behavior, which in turn influence whether or not they will internalize the rules or values that were jeopardized by their mishaps. Internal attributions (where internal characteristics are used to explain the behavior) positively predict

internalization, whereas external attributions (where one infers the cause of the behavior to situational or external factors) undermine internalization (Lepper, 1983). Attributions (internal vs. external) and emotions have a mutual influence, such that on the one hand, emotions can foster certain types of attributions, while on the other hand, attributions can also trigger emotional reactions (Gershoff, 2002). For instance, anger and shame are positively related to external attributions, creating a frame of mind that puts the blame on the environment, leads to opposition to the parent's demands and prevents successful internalization. Guilt however, is triggered by internal attributions and reflects that children have acknowledged their faulty behavior. Guilt can thus be considered as an indicator of greater internalization of rules and values as it moves children from compliance based on a desire to please the parent to compliance based on an understanding of the implication of their actions (Buck et al., 2007).

Finally, emotions have also been shown to affect the quality of the internalization process. For instance, sadness, by triggering children's attachment system and need for closeness, has been linked to greater internalization, but an internalization that is rigid and pressured (Ryan, Deci, Grolnick, & Laguardia, 2006). Overall, this body of research suggests that practices that elicit strong negative emotions could be counterproductive in terms of internalization. Yet, parental interventions in disciplinary contexts are bound to elicit multiple emotional reactions because they focus on children's wrongdoing and imply that change is required. We now turn to past findings linking parental practices and children's emotions.

Influence of Parental Practices on Emotions

Research that evaluated children's emotions during discipline encounters primarily focused on the impact of power assertion on children. Hoffman (1970b, 1983), among others,

suggested that power assertion arouses anger and hostility in the child. Punishments, a form of power assertion, are also thought to foster feelings of hate, vengeance, contempt, shame, depreciation, and unfairness (Faber & Mazlish, 1980). Others also suggested that punitive parental reactions might induce anxiety, fear or anger (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad 1998). Power assertive techniques should thus lead children to experience strong negative affects. Feelings of guilt may however be an exception. Indeed, power assertive practices have typically been associated with lower levels of guilt (Hoffman, 1975, 1983; Kochanska & Aksan, 2006), but a few studies showed that they might also at times promote guilt (Kochanska, Gross, Lin, & Nichols, 2002; Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). There is also some evidence that discipline strategies that emphasize the relation between children's actions and the consequences it has on their environment would facilitate the experience of guilt (Hoffman, 1983).

In terms of interpersonal climates, past research shows that children tend to experience more negative affects in a controlling context than in an autonomy-supportive one. In particular, Snyder, Stoolmiller, Wilson, and Yamamoto (2003) found that children's anger is associated with controlling parental behaviors such as criticism, domineering, threats and contempt. Koestner, Zuroff, and Powers (1991) also demonstrated that mothers' report of excessively restrictive and rejecting parental behaviors in infancy, which could be considered as controlling parenting, is associated with child's development of self-criticism at age 12, a concept closely related to feelings of shame. Regarding feelings of guilt, literature shows that it can be triggered by both controlling and autonomy-supportive contexts. Indeed, love withdrawal and deliberate guilt-inducing statements (e.g., "You are such a disappointment, you never listen to what I ask") are controlling strategies that have been shown to elicit strong

feelings of guilt in children (Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990; Zahn-Waxler, Kochanska, Krupnick, & McKnew, 1990). Reasoning and induction, which may be viewed as components of AS, also seem to promote guilt by fostering children's empathic capacities and helping them realize the negative effects of their misdeed on others (Grusec, 2012; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kochanska, 1991). This literature thus suggests that autonomy-supportive climates should elicit less negative emotions than controlling climates, except for guilt, which occurs in both controlling and autonomy-supportive climates.

Authors (Hoffman, 1983; Lepper, 1983) suggested that for a discipline technique to be effective, it must elicit some emotional arousal in children to ensure that their attention is captured by the parental message. However, parental practices must not be overly arousing because too strong emotions would instead interfere with the internalization of the parental message (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hoffman, 1970b). In addition, as mentioned in the previous section, there is some evidence suggesting that not all emotions are equally beneficial for the internalization of the values underlying the parent's intervention. For instance, the experience of guilt would be a desirable outcome because it is most likely to lead to internalization (Kochanska & Aksan, 2006). In contrast, anger, sadness, and shame may threaten the internalization process (Grolnick, 2003; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Ryan et al., 2006). It is thus proposed that optimal parenting in disciplinary contexts should elicit guilt, but more moderate levels of anger, sadness, and shame in order to promote internalization.

The Present Research

This study aimed at identifying the optimal parental interventions following children's transgressions by investigating children's emotional reactions as potential determinants of

internalization. To reach this goal, the impact of different parental strategies on four important emotions that children may experience during discipline encounters was investigated using Lessard and Mageau's (2015) children sample and method. Children reported on the feelings of anger, sadness, guilt, and shame that they would likely experience if they found themselves in the different mother-child interactions depicted in Lessard and Mageau's (2015) comic strips about rule-breaking situations. As previously mentioned, the three rule enforcement strategies (repeating the rule without authority exertion, punishments, and logical consequences) were manipulated by changing the comic strips' ending. These rule enforcement strategies were examined in two interpersonal climates, i.e., an autonomy-supportive and a controlling one, to verify that the impact of the strategies did not depend on the climate in which they occurred. Indeed, while Baumrind (2012) proposed that the impact of punishments is positive when they are paired with reasoning, Lessard and Mageau (2015) found that, according to children, differences between rule enforcement strategies did not vary across climates. The effects of interpersonal climates and rule enforcement strategies on children's emotions were thus expected to be additive instead of interactive.

Based on literature on parenting and emotions that suggests that power assertive techniques induce feelings of anger, resentment, and aggression (Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1990), and on Lessard and Mageau's (2015) study that showed that punishments are perceived as less acceptable than other alternatives, it is postulated that punishments will arouse more negative feelings of anger, shame, and sadness in children. In contrast, logical consequences do not include the power-focused and controlling component typically found in Hoffman's concept of power assertion. Instead, logical consequences are authority exertive strategies that are logical and informational. In addition, their goal is not to make children pay for their

wrongdoing but rather to require them to take responsibility for their action and to help solve the problem their misbehavior created. Hence, it was expected that logical consequences would lead to more moderate feelings of anger, sadness, and shame than punishments. Practices that do not include authority exertion (e.g., repeating the rule) were expected to elicit less anger, sadness, and shame than both punishments and logical consequences. For guilt, no difference was expected between punishments and logical consequences. On the one hand, logical consequences should facilitate the experience of guilt by emphasizing the relation between children's actions and their impacts on their environment. On the other hand, power assertive techniques have been associated with both higher and lower levels of guilt (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Hoffman, 1983; Kochanska et al, 2002). Logical consequences should thus generate at least as much guilt as punishments. Children were expected to feel the least guilty when no authority exertion occurred, i.e., in the repeating the rule condition.

Past research also suggests that a controlling interpersonal climate should elicit stronger negative emotions in children than an autonomy-supportive one (Gurland & Grolnick, 2003). It was thus hypothesized that children would feel more angry, sad, and shameful in a controlling interpersonal climate than in an autonomy-supportive one. Concerning guilt, past research suggests that both autonomy-supportive and controlling climates foster feelings of guilt (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990; Zahn-Waxler et al., 1990). Therefore, no difference in children's experience of guilt was expected between these two conditions.

Following Lessard and Mageau's (2015) procedure, mean differences were tested while controlling for the children's perceptual biases related to their own mother's provision of AS and structure.

Method

Participants

A total of 221 children participated in the study. Participants were part of a larger study and were also included in Lessard and Mageau's (2015) study, although different outcome measures were examined. Children were aged between 9 and 12 years old ($M_{\text{age}} = 10.42$, $SD = .07$) and genders were evenly distributed (47% boys). Eighty-two percent of the children's mothers reported having graduated from CEGEP¹ or university. Also, 14% of the children's families had an annual income below 30 000\$, 50% earned between 30 000\$ and 100 000\$, and 36% earned 100 000\$ or more. Participants were thus primarily of middle-class socioeconomic status.

Procedure

Children were recruited through 10 public elementary schools in a Canadian city, using Lessard and Mageau's (2015) procedure. Children who obtained parental consent were met at their school, where they completed a questionnaire with the help of a research assistant in a designated classroom during regular school hours. Completion time was 25 minutes or less.

Experimental Manipulation

Comic Strips. Children were presented with 12 comic strips, each composed of four vignettes depicting mother-child interactions during rule-breaking situations. After reading

¹ In the province of Quebec, the educational system includes two years of CEGEP studies between high school and university. Three-year technical programs are also offered in these facilities.

each comic strip, children were asked about how the depicted parental practices would make them feel in terms of feelings of anger, sadness, guilt, and shame.

Two factors were manipulated in the comic strips via the mother-child interaction. First, the interpersonal climate (autonomy-supportive; controlling) was manipulated in the first three vignettes of the story by changing what the mother said to the child during rule-reminding. Mothers who were depicted as autonomy-supportive acknowledged the child's feelings and took his/her perspective (e.g., "I see that you'd rather not brush your teeth now that you are already in bed."), and gave a rationale for their demands (e.g., "It's important to brush your teeth every night in order to have nice white teeth."). In contrast, mothers who were depicted as controlling deliberately induced guilt through criticisms (e.g., "It's always the same with you... You never listen to me!"), and threatened the child (e.g., "If you don't go right away, you'll regret it!"). Then, for each scenario, one of three rule enforcement strategies (repeating the rule without authority exertion; punishing the child; giving a logical consequence) was introduced in the last vignette of the comic strips by changing the mother's reaction to the child's persistent transgression. In the repeating the rule conditions, no authority exertion occurred and mothers only repeated the rule to the child (e.g., "Victor, we brush our teeth before going to bed."). In the punishment conditions, mothers took action in a way that was unrelated to the child's misdeed by relying on constraint or deprivation of privileges (e.g., "Since you just don't listen to me, I forbid you to go to your friend's house tomorrow."). In the logical consequence conditions, mothers acted in order to let the child experience the logical consequences of their behavior, that is by taking action in a way that was closely related to the child's misdeed (e.g., "With all this time spent discussing teeth brushing, there is no more time for a bedtime story.").

Six experimental conditions were obtained by crossing the two levels of interpersonal climate with the three levels of rule enforcement, yielding a 2 x 3 design: autonomy-supportive/repeating the rule, autonomy-supportive/punishment, autonomy-supportive/logical consequence, controlling/repeating the rule, controlling/punishment, and controlling/logical consequence. To improve validity, each condition was presented two times using two different real-life situations in which a child transgressed a rule. One situation pertained to non-compliance, where the child refused to brush his/her teeth, while the other situation referred to a transgression of parental values, where the child damaged his/her father's tools. Thus, a total of 12 comic strips were presented to each child using a within-subject design. The order of appearance of the experimental conditions in the questionnaire was counter-balanced. Also, to improve children's identification with the vignettes, the child gender in the comic strips was the same as the participants'. After reading each comic strip, children were asked about their feelings of anger, sadness, guilt, and shame.

Dependent Variables

Children's emotions. After each comic strip, children were asked to indicate how the mother's behavior in the comic strip would make them feel. Each emotion was prompted using a separate statement. Children rated each statement after reading the comic strip using a 4-point scale ranging from *Not at all true for me* to *Really true for me*. For *anger*, the item was "If my mother acted this way with me.... I would be angry". Correlations, computed from the two real-life situations in each condition, varied between .78 and .84 across the six conditions. *Sadness* was assessed with the following statement: "If my mother acted this way with me.... I would be sad" and correlations varied between .74 and .89. Regarding feelings of *guilt*, children were asked: "If my mother acted this way with me.... I would regret what I did".

Correlations between the two real-life situations ranged between .76 and .82 for this variable. Finally, for *shame*, the following statement was rated: “If my mother acted this way with me.... I would feel like a bad person” and correlations varied between .66 and .75.

Subsequently, children completed measures assessing two dimensions of their mother’s parenting style, i.e., AS and structure.

Perceived maternal AS. The Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale for children (P-PASS; Joussemet et al., 2014; Mageau, Ranger, Joussemet, Koestner, Moreau, & Forest, in press) assesses children’s perception of the extent to which their mother supports their autonomy and uses controlling strategies. This 18-item scale is composed of two subscales, one measuring autonomy-supportive practices (9 items; e.g., “My mother can put herself in my shoes and understand how I feel.”) and the other assessing the use of controlling tactics (9 reversed items; e.g., “My mother makes me feel guilty to make me do what she wants.”). Children rated each item on a 4-point scale (*Almost never true* to *Almost always true*), such that higher scores on this scale indicate more autonomy-supportive parenting. The P-PASS has a sound factor structure and has been successfully used in past research to capture change in mothers’ autonomy-supportive behaviors following a workshop on key parenting dimensions (i.e., AS, structure, and affiliation; Joussemet et al., 2014). The internal consistency of the scale for this study was good ($\alpha = .79$).

Perceived maternal structure. Children’s perception of maternal structure as opposed to permissiveness was measured with an adapted version of the structure vs. laxness subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold, O’Leary, Wolff, & Acker, 1993). This scale assesses the extent to which mothers set limits as opposed to being permissive (e.g., “When I do something

my mother doesn't like, she often let it go”; “My mother lets me do whatever I want”; recoded items). Items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from *Almost never true* to *Almost always true*, such that higher scores represent more structuring parental practices. A 6-item version of this scale has been positively associated with child report of well-being in a previous study (Joussemet et al., 2014). In the present research, two of these six items were found to be unreliable and were removed from the scale, such that a 4-item scale was used. The internal consistency of this 4-item scale was poor but acceptable ($\alpha = .54$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Variables were first examined for missing values, univariate outliers and univariate abnormality. Missing values were randomly distributed and limited, their percentages ranging from 2.53 % to 6.33 %. The number of univariate outliers was also limited, ranging from 0 to 5 per variable. Following Tabachnick and Fidell’s (2013) recommendation, these outliers were replaced by scores corresponding to a Z score of 3.29 for each variable to limit their impact on the observed means. Finally, all kurtosis and skewness values were in the recommended range of -3 to 3 (Kline, 2011), kurtosis values ranged from -1.15 to 2.77, while skewness values varied between -1.1 and 1.85. The distributions of all variables were thus considered normal and primary analyses could be conducted with confidence.

Primary Analyses

The goal of the present research was to examine children’s emotional reactions of anger, sadness, anger, guilt, and shame to three rule enforcement strategies and to test if these effects were the same across two interpersonal climates, while controlling for the perceptual

biases related to their own mother's provision of AS and structure. The resulting design included two within factors representing the experimental manipulation: rule enforcement strategies (3 levels; repeating the rule without authority exertion, punishment, and logical consequence) and interpersonal climates (2 levels; autonomy-supportive and controlling). To control for potential perceptual biases, children's reports of maternal structure and AS were entered as a third and fourth factor, each one treated as a two-level between factor (mean split). To examine the differences, MANOVAs were first conducted and significant effects were followed by series of mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVAs) for each dependent variable. The effects of the experimental manipulations on all four dependent variables will be presented first (i.e., their interactions and the main effects), followed by their interactions with children's report of their own mother's provision of AS and structure.

Results first showed that there was no interaction effect between the interpersonal climates and the rule enforcement strategies at the multivariate level; interaction effects were thus not examined at the univariate level. A significant main effect of the rule enforcement strategies was found with the MANOVA, Wilks' $\Lambda = .62$, $F_{\text{exact}}(8, 153) = 11.95$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .38$. Results also revealed a significant main effect of the interpersonal climates, Wilks' $\Lambda = .70$, $F_{\text{exact}}(4, 157) = 16.73$, $p < .00$, $\tau^2 = .30$. These effects were thus further investigated at the univariate level for all dependent variables and are presented hereafter for each emotion, i.e., anger, sadness, guilt, and shame.

Experimental Manipulation's Main Effects

Anger. There was a significant main effect of the rule enforcement strategies on anger at the univariate level, $F(2, 372) = 36.47, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .16$ (see Figure 1)². Post hoc comparisons showed that children believed that punishments ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.00$) would make them angrier than both consequences ($M = 1.66, SD = .91$) and repeating the rule ($M = 1.57, SD = .78$). No difference was found between the two latter strategies. Results also revealed a significant effect of the interpersonal climates, suggesting that controlling climates ($M = 1.86, SD = .96$) would bring greater feelings of anger than autonomy-supportive ones ($M = 1.59, SD = .81$), $F(1, 186) = 51.73, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .22$.

Sadness. Results showed that the three rule enforcement strategies also had a differential impact on children's feelings of sadness, such that being given a punishment ($M = 2.05, SD = 1.02$) elicited more hypothetical sadness than being given a logical consequence ($M = 1.87, SD = .95$), which in turn would make participants sadder than repeating the rule ($M = 1.70, SD = .88$), $F(2, 356) = 23.58, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .12$. Figure 2 presents these results. As for the impact of the interpersonal climate, the multivariate effect reported earlier was significant for sadness at the univariate level, $F(1, 178) = 31.13, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .15$. Results revealed that controlling climates ($M = 1.97, SD = .99$) elicited more hypothetical sadness than autonomy-supportive ones ($M = 1.78, SD = .91$).

Guilt. For guilt, a significant main effect of the rule enforcement manipulation was found at the univariate level, $F(2, 374) = 16.08, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .08$ (see Figure 3). Further

² For all analyses, sphericity assumed F and corrected F s were the same, indicating that there was no violation of the sphericity postulate. We thus assume sphericity and present uncorrected F s.

analyses revealed that participants would feel more guilty when given a punishment ($M = 2.83, SD = .94$) than when given a logical consequence ($M = 2.68, SD = .94$), which in turn would make them feel guiltier than repeating the rule ($M = 2.57, SD = .97$). Finally, contrary to other emotions, participants did not report less guilt for the autonomy-supportive climates than for the controlling ones, $F(1, 187) = 1.92, p = .17$.

Shame. Results showed that when exposed to punishments ($M = 1.98, SD = .92$), participants reported more shame than when exposed to repeating the rule ($M = 1.86, SD = .85$). Logical consequences ($M = 1.96, SD = .91$) was situated between punishments and repeating the rule in terms of mean, but it did not significantly differ from either condition, $F(2, 350) = 3.80, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .02$. These results are presented in Figure 4. For the interpersonal climate manipulation, results showed that, as for anger and sadness, controlling climates ($M = 2.00, SD = .92$) elicited more shame than autonomy-supportive ones ($M = 1.87, SD = .87$), $F(1, 175) = 18.89, p < .00, \eta_p^2 = .10$.

Moderating Effects of Family Context in Terms of Maternal AS and Structure

There was no main effect of children's report of their mothers' provision of AS and structure at the multivariate level. In addition, no four-way, three-way or two-way interactions were found between the manipulated variables and the participants' perceived parenting dimensions. The family context thus did not seem to influence children's hypothetical emotions following their exposure to the parental strategies.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to evaluate the impact of three rule enforcement strategies on children's emotions, and to verify that these effects did not vary according to the

interpersonal climate in which they occur. Children were presented with comic strips depicting parent-child interactions when a child transgresses a rule in which parental practices varied according to six experimental conditions. Children were then asked to rate the extent to which they would feel angry, sad, guilty, and shameful if their mother were to act this way with them. To account for possible perceptual biases, effects of their mother's own parenting style in terms of AS and structure as perceived by the children, were controlled.

Interpersonal Climates

Results first showed that when presented with vignettes that depicted controlling interpersonal climates, children reported that they would feel more angry, shameful, and sad than when exposed to autonomy-supportive climates. While the adverse effects of controlling climates have been amply documented (see Joussemet, Landry, & Koestner, 2008, for a review), these results further demonstrate the detrimental consequences of such climates on children affectivity. Importantly, although children still reported moderate feelings of anger, shame, and sadness for autonomy-supportive climates, autonomy-supportive parenting seemed to partially protect them from the negative emotional burden inevitably associated with parental intervention during rule-breaking situations.

Results also revealed that autonomy-supportive and controlling climates promote similar levels of guilt. Controlling behaviors such as deliberate guilt-induction and love withdrawal have long been associated with feelings of guilt (Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990; Zahn-Waxler et al, 1990). However, it seems that giving a rationale about the importance of a rule and acknowledging children's feelings about not wanting to comply with this rule help children take others' perspective and see the consequences of their actions, as

manifested by more prosocial feelings of guilt. This finding is in line with past research showing that reasoning and induction, which are similar to the autonomy-supportive behavior of giving a rationale, trigger feelings of guilt and are associated with greater internalization of parental rules and values (Hoffman, 1983). In this literature, guilt has been identified as a key emotion in the socialization process because it is said to facilitate children's understanding of the relations between their actions and their impact on others, thereby increasing their ability to self-regulate their behavior. While these results provide evidence that both autonomy-supportive and controlling climates promote guilt, future research is now needed to further investigate the reasons underlying children's experiences of guilt across climates. Indeed, controlling climates have been associated with egoism and more self-centered preoccupations (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995) and it possible that the form of guilt experienced in controlling climates reflects children feeling sorry for themselves (i.e., self-focused guilt), whereas more autonomy-supportive parenting might promote a more adaptive type of guilt that fuels on genuine feelings toward others (i.e., empathy-based guilt; Hoffman, 1983; Kochanska et al., 2002). A more detailed assessment of guilt might reveal that different affective processes are triggered by different climates, leading to different types of guilt and perhaps more or less rigid forms of internalization (Ryan et al., 2006).

Rule Enforcement Strategies

The proposition that power assertive strategies, such as punishments, elicit more intense negative emotional arousal in children than logical consequences was supported. Furthermore, these results did not vary according to the interpersonal climate; no interaction was observed between the rule enforcement strategies and the interpersonal climates. As expected, children reported more sadness when mothers gave them punishments than when

they relied on logical consequences, while repeating the rule elicited the least sadness in children. For anger, results showed that punishments elicit more of anger than logical consequences and repeating the rule. Although children reported more anger in the logical consequences condition than in the repeating the rule condition, this difference was not significant.

As for feelings of shame, although the overall pattern of results resembled the one obtained for the other emotions, no significant differences were found between the three rule enforcement strategies, except for repeating the rule and punishments. Thus, repeating the rule elicited significantly lower levels of shame than punishments, but logical consequences, situated in the middle in terms of shame level, did not differ statistically from repeating the rule or punishments. These results are in line with the literature suggesting that controlling power assertion promotes negative and shameful feelings (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Hoffman, 1983). However, future research is needed to better understand the impact of repeating the rule and logical consequences on children's experience of shame.

Findings from this study partially confirmed the expected pattern of results for guilt. The initial hypothesis was that levels of guilt would be higher for both punishments and logical consequences than for repeating the rule, as it had been argued that authority exertion promotes guilt (Hoffman, 1983). Consequences were also expected to generate at least as much guilt as punishments. Results showed that repeating the rule generated the lowest level of guilt as expected. However, children reported more guilt when exposed to punishments compared to logical consequences. As previously mentioned, different types of guilt may be associated with different parental strategies. It is possible that punishments foster a more maladaptive, self-focused type of guilt, while logical consequences may facilitate a more

adaptive, empathy-based guilt (Donenberg & Weisz, 1998; Hoffman, 1970a, 1970b, 1983; Kochanska et al., 2002). This distinction may be responsible for the difference in hypothetical guilt observed between the two conditions with self-focused guilt resulting in higher scores on our guilt measure. Future research is needed to replicate the present findings with more elaborate measures of guilt that could differentiate between the different types of guilt. Additional inquiries are also needed to test whether the guilt prompted by logical consequences and punishments would actually and similarly translate into value internalization and prosocial behavior. Although we would expect logical consequences to be related to these positive outcomes, it is nevertheless possible that the level of guilt generated by logical consequences is not high enough to foster internalization. In contrast, punishments is more likely to foster a self-focused guilt that may in turn lead to a more rigid form of internalization and ultimately to less prosocial behavior.

In sum, results from this study suggest that punishments, used in either interpersonal climate, generate the highest levels of negative emotions. On the one hand, punishments seem to promote guilt, which is a desirable emotion in disciplinary contexts. However, on the other hand, punishments also foster more feelings of sadness, shame and anger, which could ultimately threaten the internalization processes (Hoffman, 1983). Previous findings using the same sample of children also showed that children judged punishments as the least acceptable practices (Lessard & Mageau, 2015). Taken together, the present results further document that, contrary to Baumrind's (2012) suggestion, punishments, even when given in an autonomy-supportive context, may not be the optimal authority exertive strategy to promote children's internalization. On the contrary, results suggest that logical consequences may be more easily internalized than punishments since they do not breed as severe negative emotions. Yet,

logical consequences still generate moderate affective arousal when compared to repeating the rule. According to Hoffman (1983), optimal discipline strategies should elicit moderate emotional arousal in order to capture children's attention and emphasize the importance of the parental message. These findings provide initial empirical evidence that logical consequences might be promising socialization strategies in rule enforcement situations. Nevertheless, future work on rule enforcement should further investigate the interplay between parental practices, children's emotions and their behavioral reactions in terms of committed compliance and long-term internalization in real-life settings. Such studies would provide a more complete understanding of the processes that are at play during parent-child interactions in situations of rule enforcement.

Perceptual Biases

Results from this study suggest that children's own experience of autonomy-supportive or structuring parenting does not influence their affective reaction to the parental strategies presented. Thus, there was no interaction effect between their mother's use of AS or structure and the depicted practices on their report of anger, sadness, guilt or shame. Yet, past research suggests that the memory of previous discipline incidents might influence children's emotional reaction to parental practices (Buck et al., 2007). The hypothetical nature of the vignettes might explain the lack of interaction in the present results. Interactions may still be found if children were exposed to the parental strategies in real-life situations. Also, perceived maternal structure was assessed using a 4-item adapted version of the structure vs. laxness subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993) that demonstrated only acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = .54$). Controlling for children's previous experience of discipline in

future work, especially while using more psychometrically sound instruments, thus seems to remain highly valuable.

One important perceptual bias that this study did not investigate relates to children's temperament. Future analyses should include measures of children's temperament, as previous work suggested that it might moderate the relation between parental practices and children's emotional reactions to these practices (Bates, Pettit, Dodge, & Ridge, 1998; Rothbart & Bates, 2006). For instance, children who are more fear prone could respond more strongly to authority exertion and experience more distress or apprehension when they transgress a rule (Kochanska et al., 2002). Additionally, there is evidence that children with difficult temperament (e.g., high negative emotionality and high reactivity) might react more strongly to harsh parenting (Bradley & Corwyn, 2008; Cassidy, Woodhouse, Sherman, Stupica, & Lejuez, 2011). Future research is needed to better document the effects of children's temperament on their perception of rule enforcement strategies.

Contributions to the Socialization Literature

The present study contributes significantly to the literature on socialization. Emotions serve as indicators of children's general well-being and mental health, and they play an important role in children's social development (Saarni et al., 2006). However, very few empirical studies have documented the effects of parental practices on a range of emotions, and even fewer have examined these effects using experimental designs. The present study innovates by using an experimental design that allowed for direct assessments of the hypothetical affective responses associated with specific parental practices. By increasing our understanding of the emotions that children are likely to experience during discipline

encounters, this study provides important information about the value of different parental strategies. Three rule-enforcement strategies were compared and logical consequences, in particular, seem to be a promising alternative to more power assertive strategies as it generates more moderate level of negative affect. Findings from this study should stimulate research on the use of logical consequences as rule enforcement strategies.

The use of vignettes to portray real-life interactions between a mother and a child who transgresses a rule is an important strength of the present study. Authors have advocated this novel method as a mean to investigate situations that participants might not have directly encountered in their life (Barter & Renolds, 2000). Indeed, children might not all have experienced various parenting styles and vignettes help them better imagine the rule-breaking situations and the parental practices depicted. Also, it has been argued that emotions, such as guilt, are difficult to study because they are hard to elicit in experimental settings (Kochanska & Aksan, 2006). The range of emotions endorsed by children in this study suggests that vignettes were successful in creating situations that elicited different types and intensity of emotions.

Limits and Future Research

Despite these contributions, the present study has several limits that would need to be addressed in future studies. In particular, single items were used to assess each of the four emotions investigated. Although these items were based on the literature on children's emotions and three of them were relatively simple (i.e., "I would feel sad", "I would feel angry", and "I would regret what I did"), the item assessing shame (i.e., "I would feel like a bad person") was more abstract and may not have been understood by all children. In future

work, it would be important to replicate this study using validated multi-item scales to assess children's emotions. Other emotions could also be investigated, as fear, resentment, disgust and rage have previously been studied in the child-rearing context.

Additional limitations of this research concern the relative importance of the rules that were investigated. Indeed, all of the rule-breaking situations depicted in the comic strips pertained to the moral or prudential domains, where rules and limits are considered more justified compared to the conventional and personal domains (see Smetana, 1997). Parental intervention might trigger different and/or more intense emotions in domains where children consider that their parents should not necessarily monitor their behavior. Future studies should examine rules and limits that cover moral, prudential, conventional, and personal domains in order to provide more refined conclusions.

Finally, the use of hypothetical scenarios limits the generalizability of the results as children's actual emotional reactions when parents intervene after rule-breaking may differ from the ones they believe they would feel in such situations. The current results are indicators of the affects that children could feel when confronted to the parental practices that were presented, but real-life investigation is needed for an in depth understanding of this issue. Future research could address this limit by using an experimental design where parental intervention could be manipulated and children's emotions assessed.

In conclusion, the present research suggests that children's hypothetical emotions vary as a function of the discipline strategies they encounter. When mothers use autonomy-supportive strategies during rule-reminding, such as acknowledging the child's feelings and providing a rationale for the limit, children report that they would feel less angry, sad, and

shameful, than when mothers use threats or guilt-inducing strategies. Guilt was however equally promoted by both autonomy-supportive and controlling climates. The parenting literature suggests that this emotion may play an important role in the internalization process as it fosters reparative action-taking. Results also showed that punishments would make children more angry, sad and guilty than logical consequences. Given that moderate emotional arousal benefits internalization (Hoffman, 1983; Kochanska, 1993), this study suggests that logical consequences may be better than punishment to facilitate internalization. Future research is needed to investigate how autonomy-supportive strategies and logical consequences may be used to respond to children's transgressions in real-life settings and if such strategies promote socialization.

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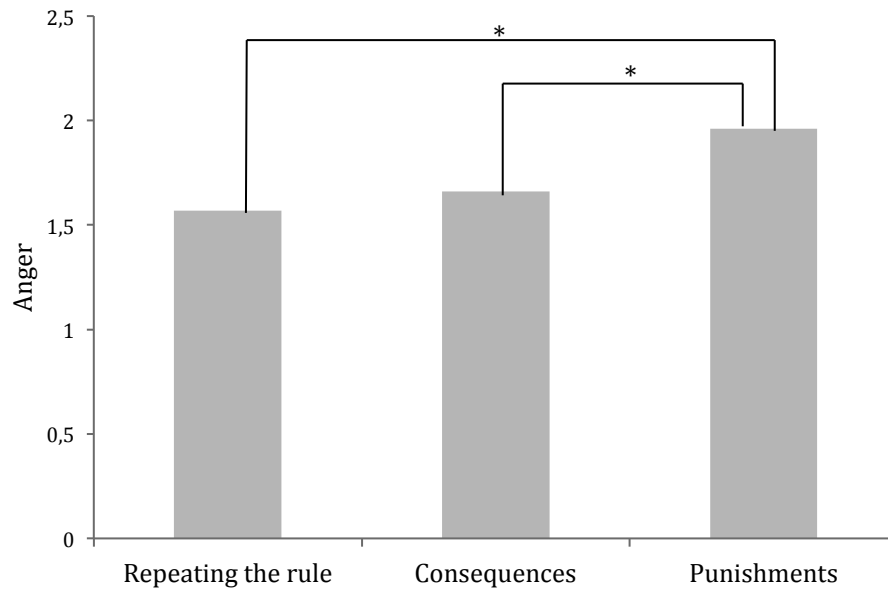
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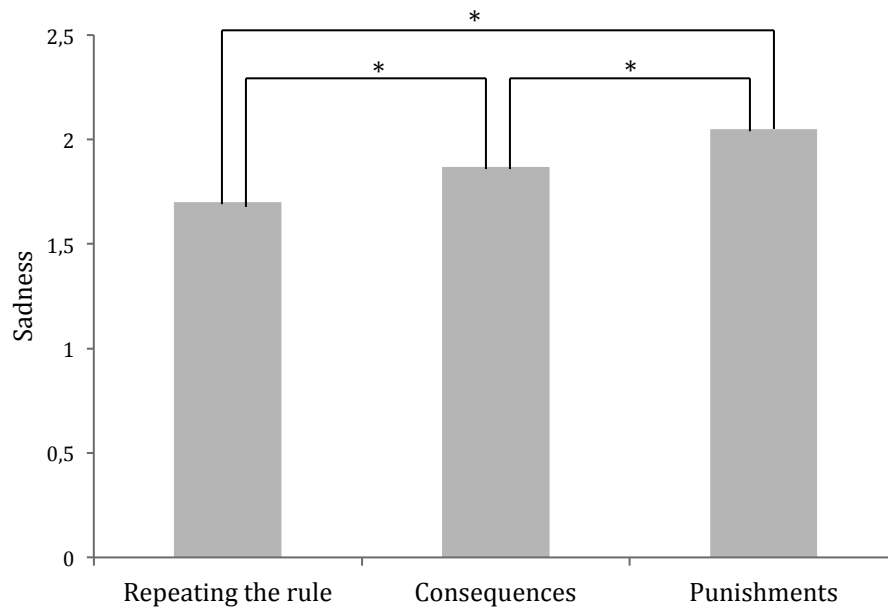
Zahn-Waxler, C., Kochanska, G., Krupnick, J., & McKnew, D. (1990). Patterns of guilt in children of depressed and well mothers. *Developmental Psychology*, 26, 51-59. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.26.1.51.

Figure 1. Children's report of anger for the rule enforcement strategies



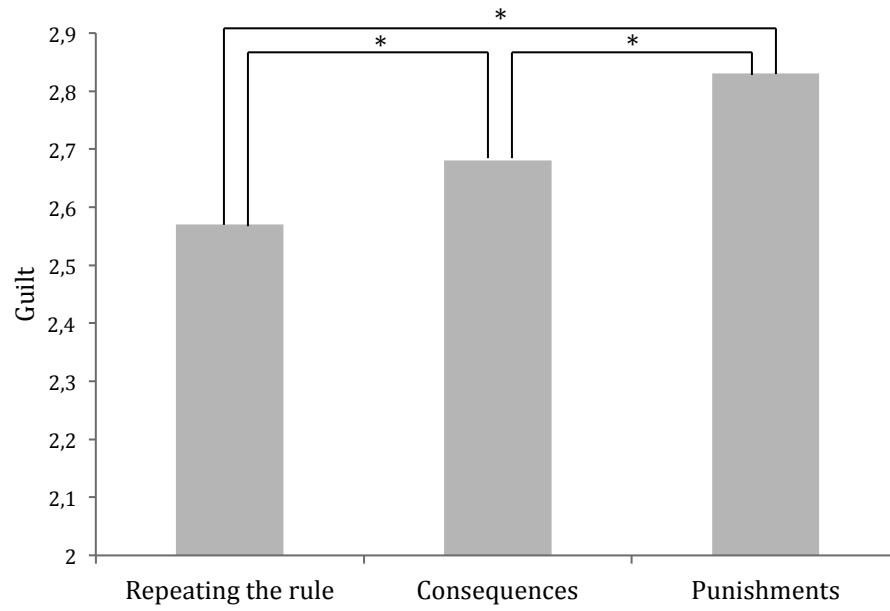
Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 2. Children's report of sadness for the rule enforcement strategies



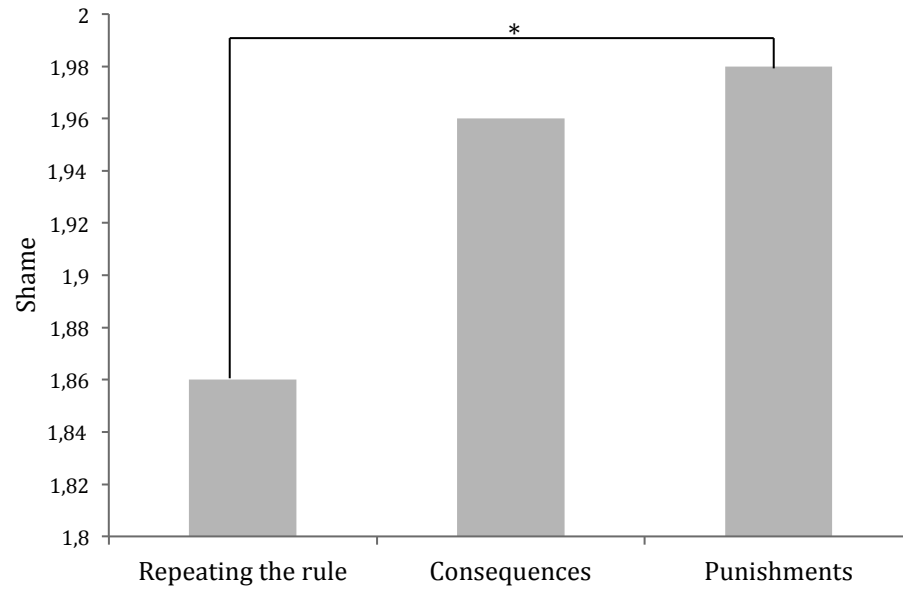
Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 3. Children's report of guilt for the rule enforcement strategies



Note: * $p < .05$.

Figure 4. Children's report of shame for the rule enforcement strategies



Note: * $p < .05$.

Conclusion

L'influence des parents sur le développement de leurs enfants est indéniable et ce rôle constitue l'une des responsabilités les plus importantes dans la vie d'un individu. Cependant, contrairement à la plupart des tâches aussi significatives qu'une personne puisse accomplir, les parents se lancent souvent dans cette entreprise avec comme seules références leur expérience personnelle, leur jugement, leur bonne foi et tout leur amour. Ce faisant, leurs questionnements sur les stratégies parentales à adopter dans diverses situations abondent et plusieurs restent sans réponse. Notamment, les parents se demandent souvent comment fournir un encadrement adéquat aux enfants tout en favorisant leur plein épanouissement. Au fil du temps, les recherches sur les pratiques parentales ont cherché à mieux comprendre de quelle manière les dimensions de structure et de soutien à l'autonomie influencent le développement des enfants. Or, les recherches ont surtout examiné ces dimensions de manière générale et dans des situations différentes (p. ex., le soutien à l'autonomie pour les travaux scolaires et la structure dans les tâches ménagères) ou encore dans des situations où ces dimensions coexistent aisément (p. ex., lors d'une période de jeu parent-enfant). Pourtant, tel que suggéré par Grolnick et ses collègues (2014), des travaux sont nécessaires afin de mieux comprendre l'opérationnalisation de ces dimensions dans des situations où elles semblent contradictoires, par exemple dans des situations où un enfant enfreint une règle. En effet, le véritable défi pour les parents réside probablement dans la façon de renforcer la structure tout en tenant compte des sentiments et de l'individualité de l'enfant. La présente thèse s'inscrit dans cette démarche en s'intéressant à trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles qui varient quant à leur niveau de structure et à leur nature plus soutenante ou plus contrôlante.

Jusqu'à présent, les études ayant porté sur la structure suggèrent qu'en plus d'instaurer des règles, les parents doivent intervenir face aux transgressions des enfants (p. ex., Grolnick, 2003; Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Cependant, les opinions des experts diffèrent à propos du type de stratégie à employer lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle. La documentation fait ainsi état de trois propositions différentes à propos des comportements à adopter lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle : les parents peuvent répéter la règle sans exercer davantage leur autorité (Koestner et al., 1984); ils peuvent donner une punition à l'enfant (Baumrind, 2012); finalement, ils peuvent aussi recourir à une conséquence logique (Grolnick et al., 2014). Alors que plusieurs psychologues ont suggéré que ces stratégies avaient des impacts très différents sur les enfants (p. ex., Ginott, 1965; Duclos & Duclos, 2005), à notre connaissance, aucune étude empirique n'avait tenté de les comparer. De plus, puisqu'il avait été proposé que l'impact de ces stratégies puisse différer en fonction du climat interpersonnel dans lequel elles étaient employées, cette thèse a comparé les trois stratégies alors qu'elles étaient utilisées au sein d'un climat soutenant l'autonomie ou d'un climat contrôlant.

Pour ce faire, les perceptions des enfants et de leur mère à propos de ces pratiques parentales ont été évaluées. En effet, le jugement des enfants quant à l'acceptabilité d'une pratique et les émotions ressenties lorsqu'un parent utilise une telle stratégie ont été identifiés comme des facteurs pouvant influencer l'impact de celle-ci sur les enfants, notamment en ce qui concerne l'intériorisation des règles (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). De plus, puisque les parents s'attendent également à ce que leurs enfants se conforment aux règles établies, les croyances de l'enfant à propos de l'efficacité des pratiques pour prévenir une transgression future constituaient un indicateur de conformité important qui a aussi été mesuré. Les perceptions d'acceptabilité et d'efficacité des mères étaient enfin évaluées puisqu'elles nous

renseignaient sur les stratégies que les mères jugent optimales pour le développement des enfants et qu'elles constituaient des indices de l'inclination des mères à adopter ces pratiques dans un contexte réel. L'acceptabilité et l'efficacité des stratégies parentales, d'une part, ainsi que les émotions qu'elles sont susceptibles de générer chez les enfants, d'autre part, ont été examinées dans le cadre des articles scientifiques qui composent cette thèse. Dans un souci de concision, seuls les principaux résultats de ces articles sont décrits ci-après.

Le premier article avait ainsi comme objectif d'évaluer les perceptions d'acceptabilité et d'efficacité des enfants et des mères à propos des stratégies parentales pouvant être utilisées lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle. À l'aide de scénarios hypothétiques, les participants étaient invités à évaluer trois stratégies visant à renforcer la règle (répéter la règle sans exercice d'autorité, donner une punition ou recourir à une conséquence logique) dans un climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie ou dans un climat interpersonnel contrôlant. Afin de mesurer les biais perceptuels possiblement liés au contexte familial des participants, les pratiques parentales des mères interrogées en ce qui concerne la structure et le soutien à l'autonomie étaient également évaluées.

Les résultats de cette première étude ont montré que les mères considèrent les conséquences données dans un climat soutenant l'autonomie comme les pratiques les plus acceptables et les plus efficaces. Les enfants, de leur côté, perçoivent le climat soutenant l'autonomie comme étant plus acceptable et plus efficace que le climat contrôlant. Les résultats suggèrent également que les enfants considèrent les conséquences comme des pratiques aussi efficaces, mais plus acceptables, que les punitions afin d'assurer le respect des règles. Ainsi, les enfants s'entendent pour dire que les parents qui exercent une certaine forme d'autorité lorsqu'il y a transgression des règles parviendront davantage à prévenir ce genre de

comportements que les parents qui se contentent de répéter la règle. Toutefois, il semble que les conséquences logiques constituent une façon d'exercer leur autorité qui soit plus acceptable que les punitions. Enfin, cet article a indiqué que les impacts des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sont indépendamment associés aux perceptions d'acceptabilité et d'efficacité des enfants (effet additif), et que leur utilisation conjointe amplifie les perceptions d'acceptabilité et d'efficacité des mères (effet interactif). Ces résultats suggèrent qu'il est non seulement souhaitable pour les mères d'établir un climat interpersonnel qui soutient l'autonomie de leurs enfants, mais que le type de stratégies employées pour renforcer les règles devrait également être choisi avec soin. Dans un climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie, l'utilisation de conséquences logiques plutôt que de punitions ou qu'une simple répétition de la règle sans exercice d'autorité semble être l'option la plus susceptible d'être acceptée par les enfants, tout en étant efficace afin de prévenir les transgressions futures.

Les résultats de cet article ont aussi montré que les pratiques parentales des mères interrogées influencent leur jugement à l'égard des pratiques présentées dans les vignettes, si bien que les mères soutenant ont jugé le climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie comme étant plus acceptable et plus efficace comparativement aux mères plus contrôlantes. Les mères structurantes trouvaient quant à elles le climat soutenant l'autonomie plus acceptable relativement aux mères moins structurantes. Qui plus est, alors que toutes les mères, indépendamment de leur style parental, ont évalué les conséquences comme étant plus efficaces que les punitions, qui étaient plus efficaces que répéter la règle, les mères soutenant ont perçu de plus grands écarts entre les différentes pratiques que les mères ayant un style contrôlant. Enfin, les mères ayant un style plus contrôlant ont évalué le fait de répéter

la règle sans exercice d'autorité comme étant significativement moins acceptable que les punitions, alors qu'aucune différence n'était observée entre ces conditions pour les mères soutenant l'autonomie.

Le second article tablait sur les résultats obtenus dans la première étude et proposait d'évaluer d'autres indicateurs d'intériorisation et d'ajustement des enfants, soit les émotions ressenties lorsqu'un parent a recours aux trois stratégies visant à renforcer les règles. Les enfants ayant participé à la première étude avaient également évalué à quel point ils ressentiraient quatre émotions importantes, soit les émotions de colère, de tristesse, de culpabilité et de honte, s'ils étaient eux-mêmes exposés aux différentes pratiques. Dans le cadre du deuxième article, les différences entre les émotions rapportées par les enfants étaient ainsi analysées en fonction du type de stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel dans lequel les stratégies étaient employées. Les biais perceptuels associés au contexte familial étaient aussi contrôlés.

Les résultats de ce deuxième article ont notamment montré que le climat interpersonnel soutenant l'autonomie amenait les enfants à vivre moins d'émotions négatives de colère, de tristesse et de honte que le climat contrôlant. Cependant, les enfants ont rapporté autant de culpabilité dans le climat interpersonnel soutenant que dans le climat contrôlant; ce résultat était interprété comme un indice de prise de conscience par rapport à la règle enfreinte. Globalement, le patron des différences révélait également que les punitions amenaient les enfants à vivre plus de colère, de tristesse, de culpabilité et de honte que les conséquences, qui suscitaient plus d'émotions négatives que répéter la règle sans exercice de l'autorité. Toutefois, les différences entre les conséquences et les punitions n'étaient pas statistiquement significatives pour la honte, alors que les conséquences et répéter la règle ne différaient pas

significativement pour la colère et la honte. Dans leur ensemble, ces résultats suggèrent que les conséquences logiques seraient moins susceptibles que les punitions de générer des états émotionnels trop intenses chez les enfants, ce qui pourrait favoriser l'intériorisation des règles. Les résultats ont également révélé qu'il n'y avait aucun effet d'interaction entre les stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et le climat interpersonnel, suggérant ainsi que la nature de la stratégie utilisée et le climat dans lequel elle est employée ont un effet additif sur les réactions émotionnelles des enfants. Finalement, le contexte familial ne semblait pas modifier les émotions vécues par les enfants dans cette étude.

Apports distinctifs de la thèse

Une des contributions majeures de cette thèse réside dans l'utilisation d'un devis de recherche expérimental pour les deux articles présentés, devis qui a permis de comparer directement diverses stratégies parentales entre elles. Ainsi, tous les participants ont évalué toutes les pratiques à l'intérieur d'un devis à mesures répétées et il est permis de conclure que les effets mesurés en terme d'acceptabilité, d'efficacité et de réaction émotionnelle sont dus aux stratégies parentales présentées, et non pas l'inverse. Un autre apport méthodologique de la thèse consiste en l'utilisation de deux répondants pour le premier article, ceci permettant de recueillir les perceptions des mères et des enfants quant à des situations où ils sont tous les deux des acteurs importants. De plus, la correspondance entre les perceptions des mères et des enfants quant à l'acceptabilité et l'efficacité des stratégies soutient la validité des résultats obtenus et suggère que ceux-ci pourraient être applicables au quotidien lors d'interactions mères-enfants.

Cette thèse contribue également à la documentation sur les pratiques parentales en fournissant différents indicateurs de l'importance d'un climat qui soutient l'autonomie lorsqu'un parent intervient auprès d'un enfant qui a transgressé une règle. Alors que les parents ont tendance à recourir à des stratégies contrôlantes, telles que les menaces et les reproches, les résultats de la première étude de la thèse montrent au contraire que les comportements soutenant l'autonomie, tel que le reflet de sentiments et les explications concernant les règles, sont jugés comme étant plus acceptables et plus efficaces, autant par les mères que par les enfants. Le second article de la thèse a également montré que le climat soutenant l'autonomie suscitait moins de colère, de tristesse et de honte chez les enfants.

Qui plus est, les résultats du second article suggèrent aussi que le soutien à l'autonomie favorise une prise de conscience par rapport à la règle, tel qu'indiqué par l'absence de différence entre le climat soutenant l'autonomie et le climat contrôlant en ce qui a trait à la culpabilité. Ces résultats sont cohérents avec la documentation suggérant que le fait de fournir des explications concernant les demandes (*reasoning*) et de relever l'impact des actions de l'enfant sur les autres (*induction*) favorise l'émergence de sentiments de culpabilité chez l'enfant (voir Hoffman, 1983). Toutefois, la culpabilité peut parfois être vue comme une émotion défavorable et l'émergence de tels sentiments dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie de l'enfant peut paraître paradoxale. Une piste de réflexion proposée dans le second article de la thèse suggérerait que le type de culpabilité suscitée par les deux climats interpersonnels puisse différer. En effet, il est possible que les climats contrôlants induisent une forme de culpabilité davantage centrée sur l'enfant lui-même et sur ses préoccupations par rapport à son bien-être (*self-focused guilt*), alors que les climats soutenant l'autonomie pourraient plutôt favoriser l'émergence d'une culpabilité empathique basée sur la reconnaissance de l'effet de ses actions

sur les gens qui l'entourent (*empathy-based guilt* ; Kochanska, Gross, Lin, & Nichols, 2002; Hoffman, 1983). Bien que davantage de recherches soient nécessaires afin de départager plus finement les différents types de culpabilité, les résultats de cette thèse documentent les conditions dans lesquelles cette émotion est susceptible d'être éprouvée.

Les résultats de la présente thèse soutiennent également l'idée qu'il faille exercer son autorité lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle, tel que l'avait affirmé Baumrind (2012). À cet égard, le premier article a montré que les mères et les enfants pensent que les pratiques qui impliquent que le parent prenne des mesures devant la transgression, soit les conséquences ou les punitions, sont plus efficaces que de seulement répéter la règle sans exercice de l'autorité. Ainsi, selon les mères et les enfants, le fait d'instaurer des règles et de les rappeler à l'enfant lorsqu'il les transgresse ne semble pas suffisant pour que celles-ci soient respectées dans le futur. Ces résultats contribuent à la documentation sur la dimension de structure en appuyant les écrits qui suggèrent que l'intervention concrète des parents lorsqu'un enfant désobéit permet à ce dernier de comprendre que ses actions ont un impact sur son environnement et que tous les comportements ne sont pas tolérés (p. ex., Baumrind, 2012; Grolnick et al., 1997; Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). En répondant directement aux transgressions et en exerçant une forme d'autorité, les parents aideraient ainsi l'enfant à développer les compétences dont il a besoin pour tendre vers une plus grande autorégulation (Grolnick & Farkas, 2002).

Cette thèse établit toutefois une distinction importante quant à la nature de l'action pouvant être posée et à ses impacts, ce qui constitue un apport significatif à la documentation scientifique sur les pratiques parentales. En effet, jusqu'à maintenant, les écrits scientifiques (p. ex., Baumrind, 2012; Baumrind et al., 2010) avaient proposé que les parents devaient répondre aux transgressions en utilisant des punitions, alors que des psychologues (Ginott,

1965; Duclos & Duclos, 2005) suggéraient plutôt le recours à des conséquences logiques. Pourtant, ces alternatives n'avaient jamais été comparées entre elles dans une étude empirique, ce qui ne permettait pas de statuer quant à leur valeur relative. Les résultats de cette thèse confirment que ces stratégies sont perçues différemment par les mères et leurs enfants quant à leur efficacité et leur acceptabilité et qu'elles ont des effets distincts sur les émotions des enfants. En effet, les résultats ont montré que les enfants perçoivent les conséquences comme étant aussi efficaces que les punitions, que les mères considèrent les conséquences comme les stratégies les plus efficaces et qu'elles et leurs enfants considèrent que les conséquences sont plus acceptables que les punitions. Le second article a également montré que les punitions amenaient les enfants à croire qu'ils vivraient davantage de colère, de tristesse et de culpabilité que les conséquences et plus de honte que répéter la règle. Au plan théorique, il est possible de croire que les punitions sont des stratégies où le parent exerce son autorité de façon plus contrôlante que lorsqu'il a recours à des conséquences, puisque le but inhérent des punitions est de faire souffrir l'enfant afin d'assurer la conformité future. Les conséquences ont quant à elles plutôt comme objectif de mettre fin au problème créé par la transgression et sont ainsi plus logiques, justes et respectueuses des idées et sentiments des enfants. Par le fait même, elles soutiendraient davantage l'autonomie de ces derniers dans une situation où il apparaît difficile de le faire. Cette caractéristique pourrait expliquer que les conséquences soient jugées par les enfants comme étant plus acceptables, mais tout aussi efficaces que les punitions, et qu'elles génèrent moins d'émotions négatives que ces dernières. Ces résultats contribuent donc à la documentation sur les pratiques parentales en opérationnalisant les conséquences logiques et en les proposant comme une alternative aux punitions afin d'atteindre les buts de socialisation, soit l'intériorisation des valeurs et le respect des règles. Des recherches futures

sont maintenant nécessaires afin de vérifier si, tel que proposé, les conséquences logiques soutiennent effectivement l'autonomie des enfants davantage que les punitions et si elles sont associées à des niveaux de conformisme et d'intériorisation des valeurs supérieurs dans la vie réelle. Dans l'affirmative, les conséquences logiques pourraient alors être utilisées afin de mieux opérationnaliser le concept de structure soutenant l'autonomie proposé par Grolnick et ses collègues (2014) dans les situations où un enfant désobéit.

Finalement, les résultats de la thèse suggèrent que le climat interpersonnel dans lequel surviennent les stratégies visant à renforcer la règle ne modifie pas leur impact autrement qu'en accentuant l'effet positif des conséquences logiques. Ainsi, à l'encontre de ce que suggérait Baumrind (2012 ; Baumrind et al., 2010), les résultats des deux études démontrent que les punitions ne sont pas plus convenables lorsqu'elles sont utilisées dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie de l'enfant. Au contraire, les résultats du premier article suggèrent plutôt que, selon les mères et les enfants, les conséquences sont plus favorables que les punitions, que celles-ci surviennent dans un climat soutenant l'autonomie ou dans un climat contrôlant. Il importe donc à la fois pour les parents de favoriser un climat soutenant l'autonomie et de porter une attention particulière à la stratégie visant à renforcer les règles qui est employée. Les conséquences logiques utilisées dans un climat soutenant l'autonomie des enfants semblent ainsi constituer les pratiques optimales à adopter lorsqu'un enfant transgresse une règle puisqu'elles pourraient permettre une meilleure intériorisation des règles tout en favorisant l'autorégulation des enfants.

Limites principales de la thèse

Au-delà des différentes contributions mentionnées ci-dessus, certaines limites de la thèse doivent être soulignées. D'abord, une première limite a trait au fait que les données

rapportées par les enfants pour les deux articles ont été obtenues lors d'une même collecte, auprès des mêmes participants. Les résultats des deux études ne sont ainsi pas indépendants les uns des autres. Les recherches futures pourraient tenter de reproduire les résultats de cette thèse en réalisant deux études indépendantes auprès de participants différents.

Une seconde limite réside dans le fait que les pères n'aient pas été interrogés dans le cadre de la thèse. Les deux études ne se sont intéressées qu'aux perceptions des mères et aux perceptions des enfants face à des pratiques utilisées par les mères, bien que certaines recherches montrent que les styles parentaux des mères et des pères puissent différer (Gamble, Ramakumar, & Diaz, 2007 ; Winsler, Madigan, & Aquilino, 2005). Des auteurs (p. ex., Simons & Conger, 2007) ont également souligné l'importance de s'intéresser aux effets de la non-congruence des styles parentaux des mères et des pères sur les enfants. En effet, il est possible de se questionner au sujet de ce qu'il advient de l'intériorisation des règles si un parent utilise des stratégies contrôlantes alors que l'autre soutient davantage l'autonomie de l'enfant. Bien que les résultats de la présente thèse nous renseignent sur les perceptions d'un membre du couple parental, les études futures devraient inclure les pères afin d'avoir une évaluation plus complète de l'influence des pratiques familiales sur la socialisation des enfants.

Ensuite, l'utilisation de scénarios pour illustrer les pratiques parentales constituait une méthodologie novatrice, mais n'a permis de mesurer que les perceptions des mères et des enfants à propos de l'acceptabilité et de l'efficacité des stratégies évaluées. Bien que ces variables furent utilisées chez les enfants comme des indicateurs de conformité et d'intériorisation des règles, il est probable que des facteurs puissent nuire au respect des règles et à l'intériorisation malgré des perceptions d'acceptabilité et d'efficacité élevées. Notamment,

Grusec et Goodnow (1994) ont suggéré que des variables telles que le tempérament, l'humeur et le stade développemental de l'enfant puissent également influencer le processus d'intériorisation des règles parentales. De plus, les perceptions des mères à propos des pratiques étaient opérationnalisées comme un indicateur de leur inclination à utiliser de telles stratégies dans la vie réelle. Il était postulé, par exemple, que les mères auraient probablement moins tendance à utiliser une pratique qu'elles jugent inefficace ou inacceptable. Toutefois, plusieurs autres facteurs peuvent influencer les pratiques qui sont utilisées lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle dans la vie réelle. Notamment, Grolnick (2003) rapporte que bien que plusieurs mères souhaitent que leurs enfants se développent de façon optimale et qu'ils intègrent les normes sociales, plusieurs d'entre elles ont néanmoins recours à des stratégies contrôlantes et coercitives lorsqu'elles interviennent auprès d'eux, favorisant plutôt l'obéissance à l'autorité sans réel apprentissage ou intériorisation des règles. Dans le cadre de l'étude des déterminants des comportements parentaux, les auteurs ont ainsi identifié trois types de pressions pouvant nuire à l'adoption de comportements soutenant l'autonomie, soit les pressions provenant des enfants (*pressure from below*), tel qu'un tempérament difficile; des parents eux-mêmes (*pressure from within*), par exemple lorsque leur estime de soi est basée sur les comportements de leur enfant; et du contexte (*pressure from above*), notamment lorsqu'ils sont soumis à des pressions financières (Grolnick, 2003; Grolnick, Price, Beiswenger, & Sauck, 2007). Compte tenu de ces facteurs, il apparaît important de poursuivre l'étude des stratégies visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel lors de situations de transgression réelles. À cet égard, il serait intéressant de coder les pratiques rapportées en entrevue par des parents et de mesurer le respect et l'intériorisation des règles et des valeurs

chez les enfants afin de vérifier si l'utilisation des conséquences dans un climat qui soutient l'autonomie est liée à des bénéfices observables dans le développement de l'enfant.

Une autre limite réside dans le fait que seules des règles importantes étaient dépeintes dans les scénarios hypothétiques des deux articles de la thèse. Il est cependant possible que les perceptions des pratiques parentales diffèrent en fonction de l'importance de la règle (Grolnick et al., 2014). En effet, la théorie des domaines sociaux (*Social Domain Theory* ; Smetana, 1997; Smetana & Asquith, 1994) identifie quatre types de domaines sociaux, soit le domaine moral (où les actions ont un impact sur le bien-être des autres), le domaine prudentiel (qui a trait à la sécurité et à la santé), le domaine conventionnel (qui réfère à des règles arbitraires qui sont convenues selon le contexte) et le domaine personnel (où les actions ont un impact uniquement sur l'acteur lui-même). Les scénarios de la présente thèse référaient aux domaines moral et prudentiel et le jugement des participants en terme d'acceptabilité, d'efficacité et de réaction émotionnelle aurait pu différer si l'intervention parentale avait eu lieu lors de situations relevant des domaines conventionnel ou personnel. Notamment, l'intervention d'un parent pourrait être jugée comme étant moins légitime pour ces domaines, devenant alors probablement moins acceptable. Les recherches futures devraient donc s'intéresser aux pratiques parentales dans des situations relevant des quatre différents domaines afin de remédier à cette limite.

Tel que mentionné précédemment, l'âge des enfants peut influencer leur jugement des pratiques parentales. Ainsi, des enfants plus jeunes pourraient, par exemple, avoir plus de difficulté à saisir les raisons qui sous-tendent les interventions de leurs parents compte tenu de leur stade développemental, alors que des adolescents plus âgés pourraient percevoir certaines interventions comme illégitimes compte tenu de leur indépendance accrue. Les enfants qui ont

participé aux études de cette thèse étaient âgés de 9 à 12 ans et un échantillon d'enfants d'âge plus varié pourrait assurer une meilleure généralisation des résultats.

Finalement, une dernière limite de la thèse relève de la façon dont les émotions ont été mesurées dans le second article. Bien que les enfants de notre échantillon aient atteint un âge développemental suffisant pour identifier les émotions de colère, de tristesse, de culpabilité et de honte (Saarni, Campos, Camras, & Witherington, 2006), il est possible que leurs capacités d'introspection et de mentalisation (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002) varient et qu'elles aient influencé leur compréhension des énoncés à propos des émotions. Aussi, tel que mentionné dans le second article, les émotions ont été évaluées à l'aide d'un seul énoncé et une des formulations était possiblement plus abstraite et difficile à se représenter (c.-à-d., « je me sentirais comme une mauvaise personne » pour la honte). Lors d'études futures, il serait important d'utiliser des échelles contenant davantage d'items pour mesurer les émotions des enfants. Aussi, il pourrait être intéressant d'utiliser des représentations graphiques, tels que des thermomètres d'émotions ou encore des visages, pour illustrer les construits et s'assurer d'une meilleure validité des mesures.

Recherches futures

Outre les pistes de recherches futures présentées ci-dessus et dans les articles de la thèse, d'autres avenues intéressantes sont suggérées ci-après afin d'approfondir les connaissances actuelles. D'abord, les études de la thèse se sont penchées sur le rôle des pratiques parentales utilisées lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle dans la socialisation des enfants. Les situations de transgression étaient alors vues comme des opportunités d'apprentissage par rapport aux règles et aux valeurs de la société. Or, il est possible que ces

situations puissent également participer à l'élaboration du lien entre le parent et son enfant. À titre d'exemple, les émotions négatives vécues dans ces situations et qui ont été documentées dans le second article de la thèse pourraient affecter les sentiments de proximité et de chaleur envers le parent et la relation parent-enfant. Grusec et Goodnow (1994) ont d'ailleurs suggéré qu'en raison de l'impact négatif que certaines pratiques peuvent avoir sur la relation parent-enfant, il pourrait parfois même être profitable de prioriser cette relation aux dépens de l'intériorisation des valeurs dans des situations où ces deux buts entrent en conflit. Lors d'études futures, il serait donc intéressant de mesurer l'impact des pratiques visant à renforcer les règles et du climat interpersonnel sur la relation parent-enfant afin de documenter plus avant leurs effets sur les enfants.

Ensuite, le tempérament de l'enfant a été identifié comme un modérateur potentiel du lien entre les pratiques parentales et leurs conséquences (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kochanska et al., 2002 ; Rothbart & Bates, 2006). Par exemple, il est possible que les enfants qui ont moins tendance à vivre de la colère ou de la honte de manière générale réagissent moins fortement à certaines stratégies parentales alors que d'autres enfants plus difficiles puissent être grandement affectés par des pratiques plus contrôlantes. Des études futures pourraient inclure le tempérament des enfants comme variable modératrice des associations proposées dans la présente thèse.

Finalement, alors que la plupart des recherches dans le domaine des pratiques parentales s'intéressent aux effets des comportements parentaux sur les enfants, les recherches futures pourraient aussi porter sur l'impact à long terme pour les parents d'utiliser des stratégies contrôlantes. En effet, les études de la présente thèse ont montré que l'utilisation de stratégies contrôlantes lors de situations de transgression pouvait nuire à l'intériorisation des

règles. Puisque l'intériorisation permet à l'enfant de s'approprier les règles et d'y adhérer volontairement, l'absence d'intériorisation requiert qu'une régulation externe soit constamment exercée sur le comportement de l'enfant (Grolnick et al., 1997). Lorsque l'intériorisation des règles n'a pas lieu, les parents doivent continuer à intervenir auprès de l'enfant afin qu'il respecte les règles. Cette influence répétée pourrait enclencher une lutte de pouvoir et nuire à la relation parent-enfant. Qui plus est, les recherches ont montré que les parents d'enfants qui ont des problèmes de comportements (enfants qui n'ont donc pas intériorisé les règles) rapportent un niveau de stress familial plus élevé (Suarez & Baker, 1997). À la lumière des solutions aux stratégies contrôlantes proposées dans la présente thèse, les recherches futures pourraient porter sur les avantages pour le parent de créer un climat familial de coopération (vs de coercition).

Implications pratiques

Devant l'immense tâche que constituent l'éducation et la socialisation des enfants, plusieurs parents se tournent vers des ressources extérieures pour obtenir des conseils. Un nombre impressionnant de livres, de guides et d'autres ressources sont offerts aux parents (une simple recherche sur le site *amazon.ca* propose près de 53 000 titres répertoriés sous la catégorie « *Parenting* ») et ces derniers peuvent avoir de la difficulté à s'y retrouver. Maintes ressources sont proposées par des cliniciens d'expérience, mais plusieurs d'entre elles sont contradictoires. Par conséquent, il apparaît pertinent que les stratégies proposées puissent être évaluées empiriquement afin de documenter leurs effets et leur validité auprès des parents.

La présente thèse fait un pas dans cette direction en démontrant le potentiel de plusieurs habiletés parentales, soit le reflet de sentiments, le fait de donner de l'information

par rapport à la règle et l'utilisation de conséquences logiques en remplacement des punitions. Ces habiletés parentales font également partie d'un programme pour parents plus large intitulé « *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* » de Faber et Mazlish (1980, 2000, 2010). Récemment, ce programme proposant 30 habiletés en lien avec les dimensions parentales de structure, de soutien à l'autonomie et d'implication parentale, a été évalué par Joussemet, Mageau et Koestner (2014). Les travaux de cette équipe de recherche ont notamment montré que les parents rapportaient avoir recours à des pratiques plus structurantes, soutenir davantage l'autonomie de leurs enfants et être plus impliqués auprès d'eux après avoir suivi ce programme qu'avant d'avoir participé aux ateliers. Les parents rapportaient également moins de problèmes internalisés et externalisés chez leurs enfants. Des travaux ultérieurs (Mageau, Joussemet, Koestner, Ménard & Lessard, 2015) ont montré que ces changements se maintenaient jusqu'à six mois et un an plus tard. Les résultats présentés dans la thèse appuient la proposition d'enseigner ces habiletés afin d'améliorer la vie familiale et la santé mentale des enfants.

Les résultats de la thèse pourraient également être transférables à d'autres domaines que celui des pratiques parentales, notamment au domaine scolaire. En effet, les enfants passent plusieurs heures de leur vie à l'école et ce milieu offre de multiples situations de socialisation au cours desquelles les stratégies étudiées pourraient être utilisées par les enseignants. Ainsi, les pratiques soutenant l'autonomie des enfants et les conséquences logiques pourraient être profitables lorsque les enseignants se heurtent à des comportements qui ne répondent pas aux attentes. À titre d'exemple, un enfant pourrait être amené à verbaliser ses émotions et à s'excuser à un compagnon après un conflit au lieu d'être privé de récréation; un autre enfant qui met le groupe en retard lors des déplacements parce qu'il

s'habille plus lentement pourrait être invité à aller se préparer cinq minutes avant les autres au lieu d'avoir une retenue après les cours; enfin, un enfant qui manque d'ordre dans son pupitre et ne retrouve plus ses travaux pourrait rester à l'école après les cours afin d'être aidé par le professeur à mieux gérer son espace et sa planification au lieu d'avoir une note dans son agenda. Ces situations ne sont que quelques exemples où les comportements soutenant l'autonomie et les conséquences logiques pourraient permettre d'enrichir les pratiques des enseignants, de favoriser une meilleure intériorisation des valeurs et un plus grand respect des règles. Les professeurs comme les enfants pourraient en ressortir gagnants.

En terminant, il apparaît important de souligner que les parents sont appelés à intervenir auprès de leurs enfants de mille et une façons et que la qualité de leurs interventions est déterminante pour le bon fonctionnement psychologique de ces derniers. Les recherches suggèrent que plus les parents seront outillés, plus ils seront en mesure d'accompagner sainement leurs enfants au cours de leur développement. Les parents doivent donc être informés à propos des pratiques parentales optimales, notamment en ce qui a trait aux stratégies à privilégier lorsqu'un enfant enfreint une règle puisque ces situations sont fréquentes et qu'elles constituent des chances uniques de promouvoir la socialisation des enfants. Les études de cette thèse suggèrent qu'en ayant recours à des comportements qui soutiennent l'autonomie et à des conséquences logiques, les parents peuvent soutenir l'intériorisation des règles et des valeurs. En ce sens, cette thèse constitue un premier pas vers une meilleure compréhension des pratiques parentales permettant à la fois d'encadrer les enfants tout en favorisant l'expression de leur individualité. Ce courant de recherche est primordial afin d'aider les parents à contribuer à l'épanouissement, la santé et l'intégration de leurs enfants en société.

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Annexe A : Formulaire de consentement (mères et enfants)

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Directrice de recherche : Geneviève A. Mageau, Ph. D., Professeure, Département de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal

A. RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

1. Objectifs de la recherche

Ce projet vise à comprendre les relations mères-enfants lors de situations de désobéissance.

2. Participation à la recherche

La participation à cette recherche consiste à :

- répondre à un questionnaire de 45 minutes (à la maison) qui porte sur les comportements de votre enfant ainsi que sur vos pratiques parentales;
- **Votre enfant** remplira un questionnaire de 35 minutes (en classe) qui examinera ses comportements ainsi que sa perception de vos pratiques parentales.

3. Confidentialité

Les renseignements que vous et **votre enfant** nous donnerez ne serviront que pour des fins de recherche et resteront strictement confidentiels. Chaque participant à la recherche se verra attribuer un numéro et seuls le chercheur principal et la personne mandatée à cet effet auront la liste des participants et des numéros qui leur auront été accordés. De plus, les données seront conservées dans un classeur sous clé situé dans un bureau fermé. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier ou d'identifier **votre enfant** d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. Les données seront analysées globalement et seules des moyennes de groupes seront rapportées. Les données nominatives seront détruites 7 ans après la fin du projet.

En vertu de la Loi sur la protection de la jeunesse, le chercheur qui a un motif raisonnable de croire que la sécurité ou le développement d'un enfant est compromis, parce qu'il est victime d'abus sexuels ou est soumis à de mauvais traitements physiques par suite d'excès ou de négligence, est tenu de le déclarer au directeur de la protection de la jeunesse.

4. Avantages et inconvénients

En participant à cette recherche, vous pourrez contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur les relations parents-enfants. Aucun inconvénient n'est attendu, outre le fait de consacrer du temps à la recherche.

5. Droit de retrait

Votre participation et **celle de votre enfant** sont entièrement volontaires. Vous et **votre enfant** serez libres de vous retirer en tout temps sur simple avis verbal, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Vous n'aurez qu'à le mentionner à l'agent de recherche. Si vous décidez de

ne pas participer à cette recherche, vous n'avez qu'à ne pas signer le formulaire de consentement. En cas de retrait, les données qui auront été recueillies seront détruites.

B. CONSENTEMENT

Mère

Je déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions sur ma participation à la recherche et **celle de mon enfant** et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

J'accepte que **mon enfant** participe à la recherche avec moi. Oui ☐ Non ☐

Après réflexion et un délai raisonnable, je consens librement à prendre part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux me retirer en tout temps sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier ma décision. Oui ☐ Non ☐

Prénom et nom de la mère: _____

Prénom et nom de l'enfant : _____

Signature de la mère : _____ Date : _____

Veuillez indiquer vos coordonnées afin que nous puissions faire parvenir votre questionnaire (celui de la mère) à la maison.

Adresse : _____ Code postal : _____

Numéro de téléphone à la maison : _____

Je déclare avoir fourni toutes les informations concernant le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients du projet et être disponible pour répondre à toute éventuelle question.

Signature du chercheur :

Date : 6 janvier 2011

Joannie Lessard, candidate au Ph. D., Département de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal
Geneviève A. Mageau, Professeure, Département de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal

Pour toute question relative à l'étude, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Mme Joannie Lessard, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 4605.

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone (514) 343-2100 (***l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés***).

Annexe B : Vignettes présentées aux enfants et aux mères

(12 vignettes; version fille)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



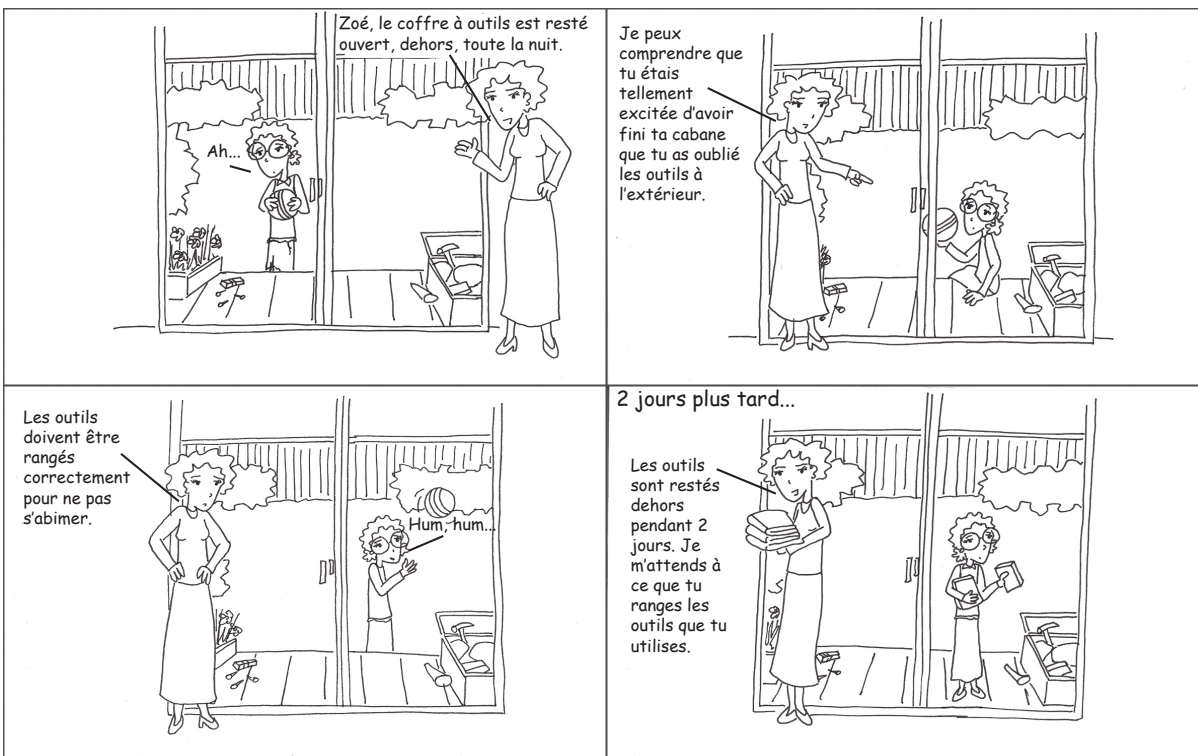
(SA – Répéter la règle)¹

¹ Notes

Le format des vignettes a été réduit afin de répondre aux normes de présentation de la thèse.

L'ordre des conditions expérimentales correspond à celui de l'une des 12 versions du questionnaire.

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.



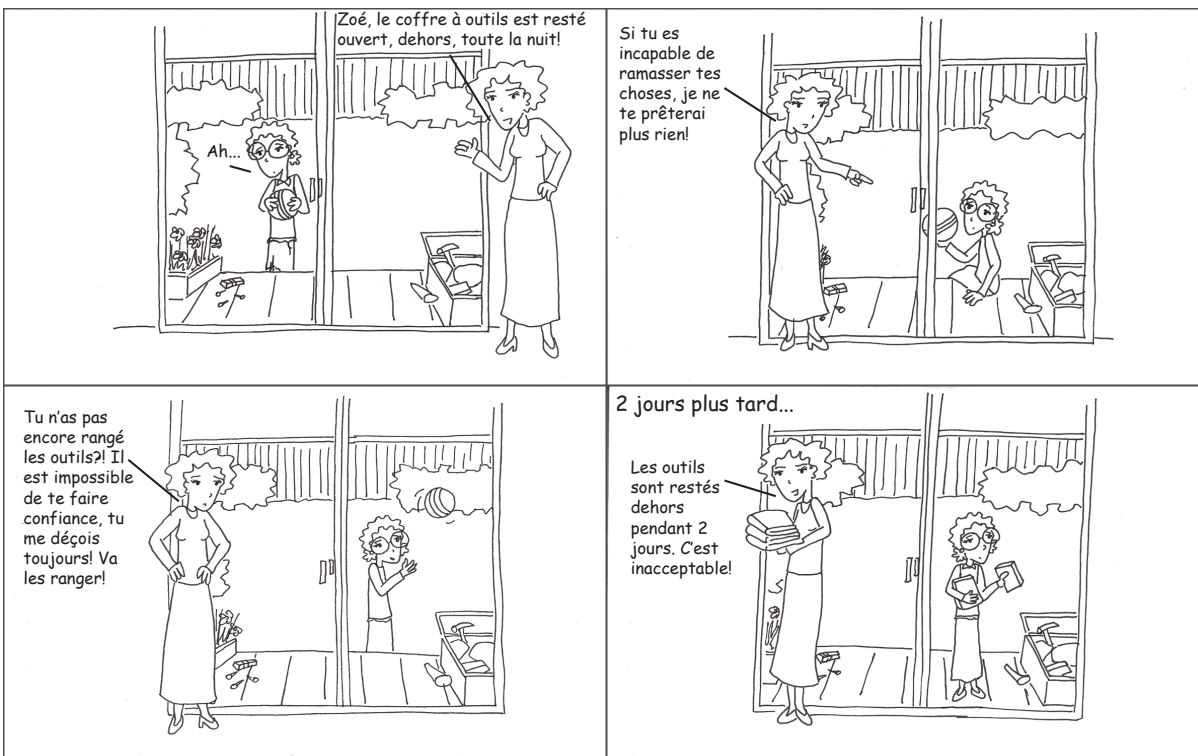
(SA – Répéter la règle)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



(Contrôle – Répéter la règle)

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.



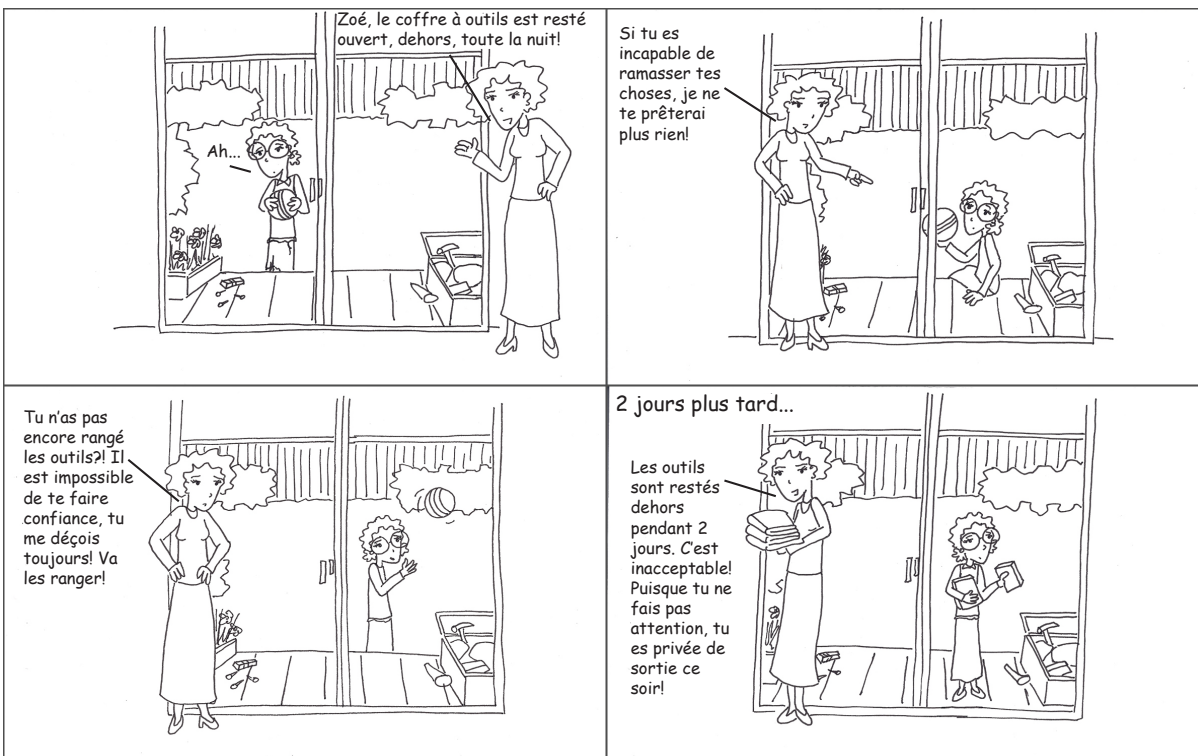
(Contrôle – Répéter la règle)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



(Contrôle – Punition)

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.



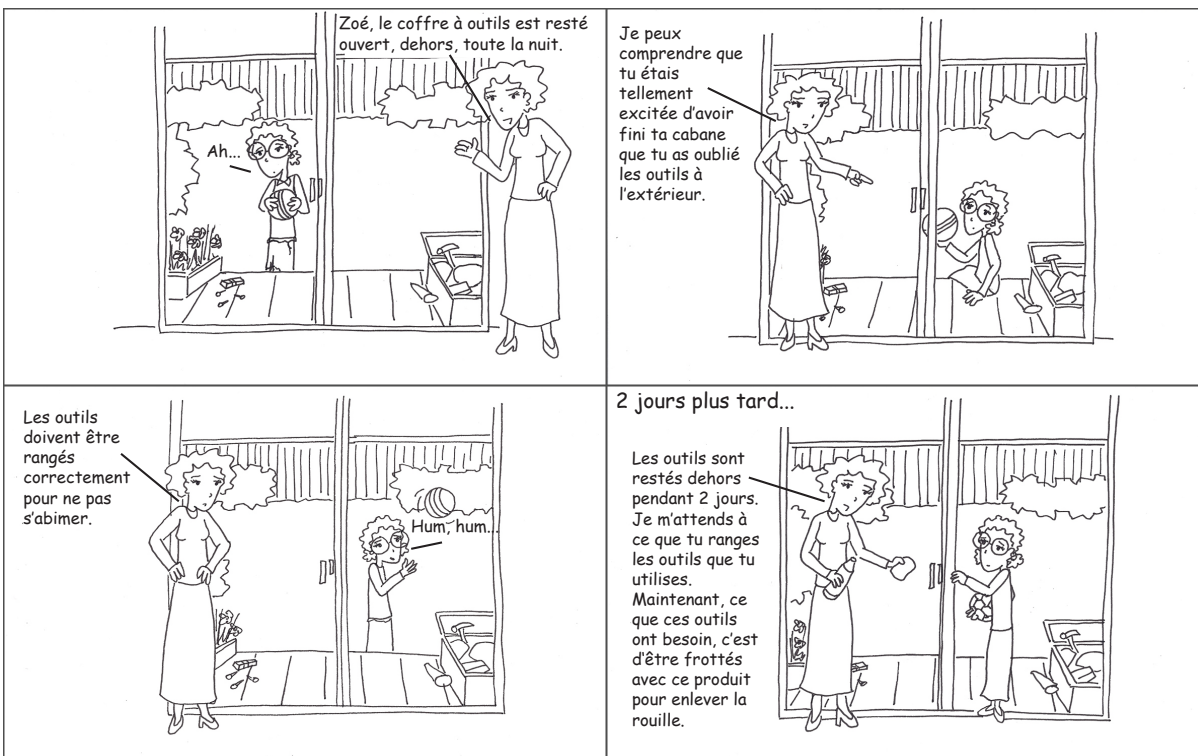
(Contrôle – Punition)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



(SA – Conséquence)

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.



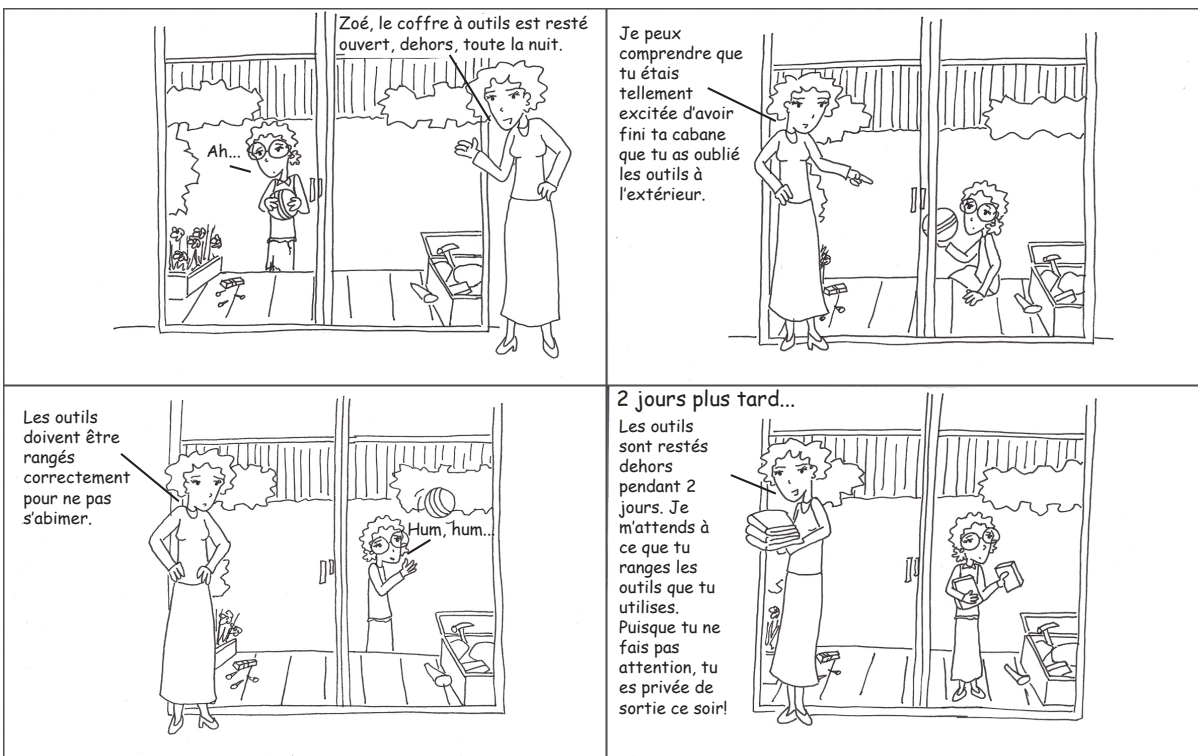
(SA – Conséquence)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



(SA – Punition)

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.



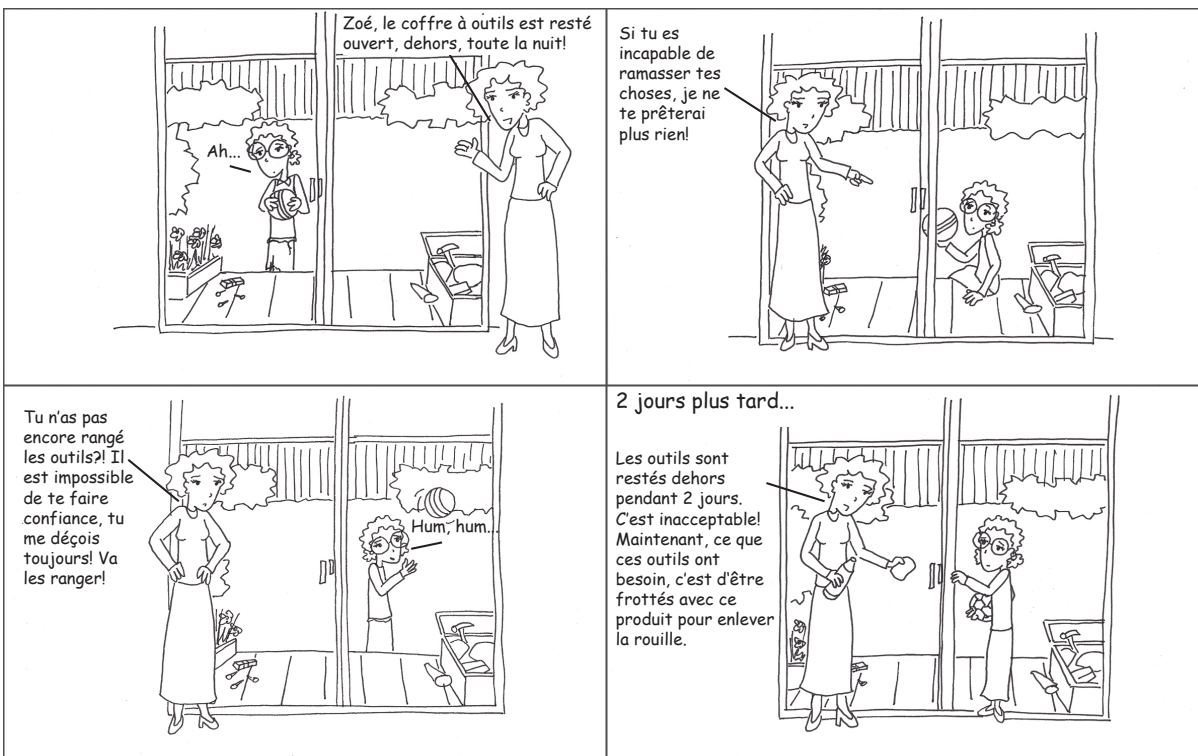
(SA – Punition)

Zoé saute dans son lit et attend que sa mère vienne lui raconter une histoire.



(Contrôle – Conséquence)

Zoé a emprunté les outils de ses parents pour construire une cabane pour les oiseaux.

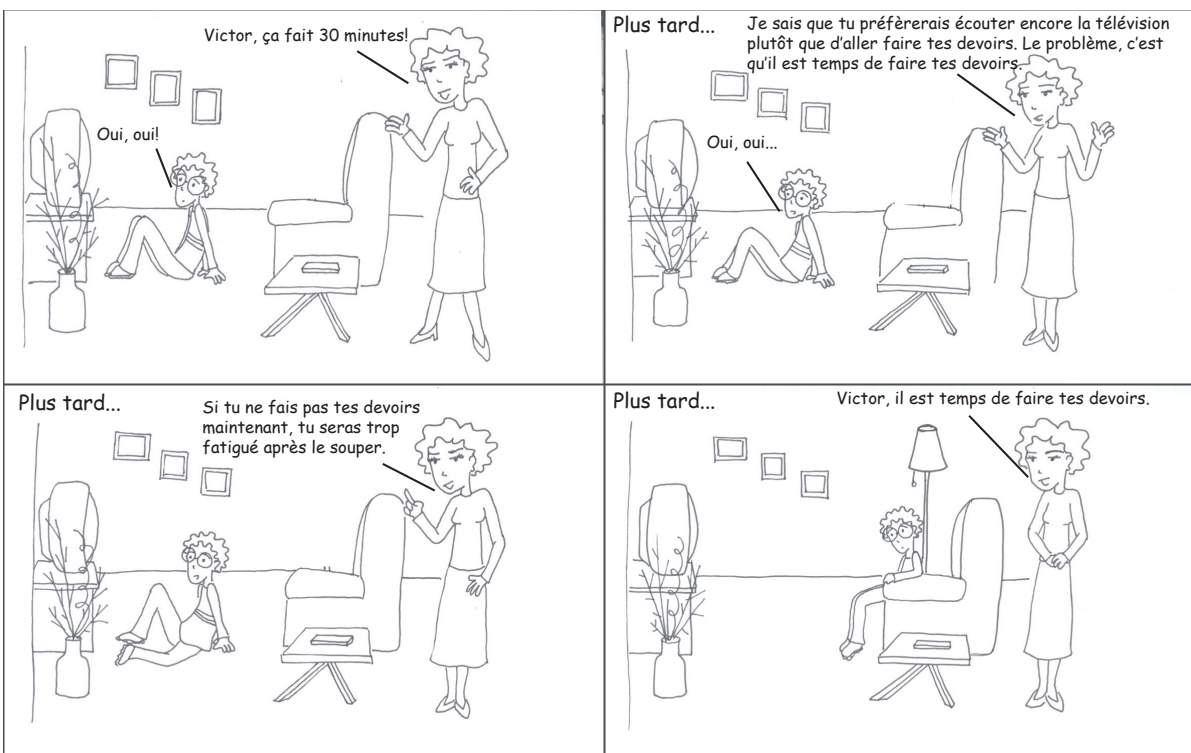


(Contrôle – Conséquence)

Annexe C : Vignettes supplémentaires présentées aux mères

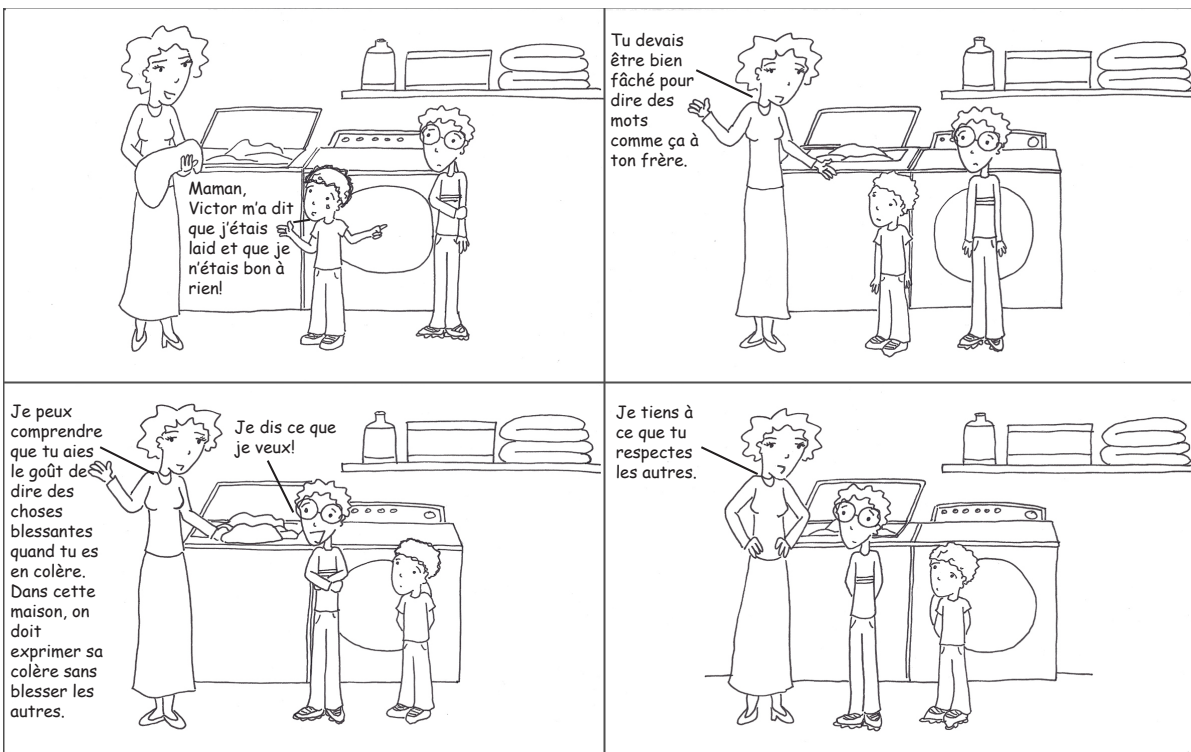
(12 vignettes; version garçon)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



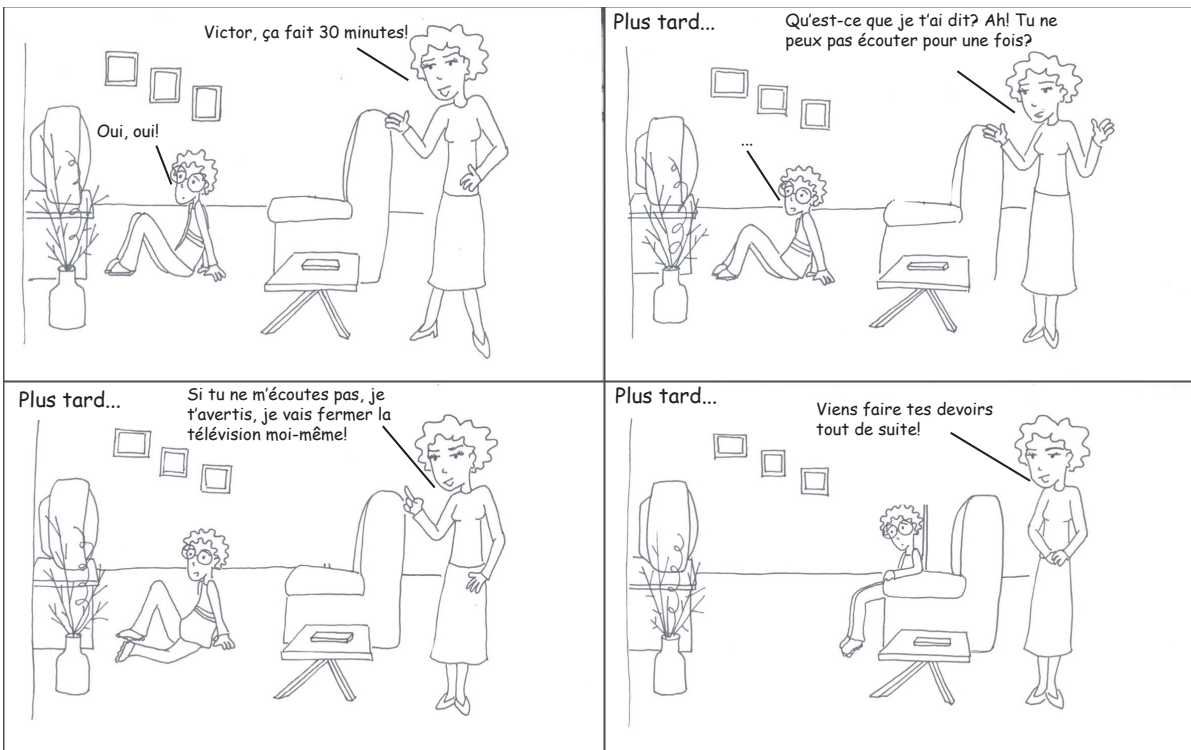
(SA – Répéter la règle)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



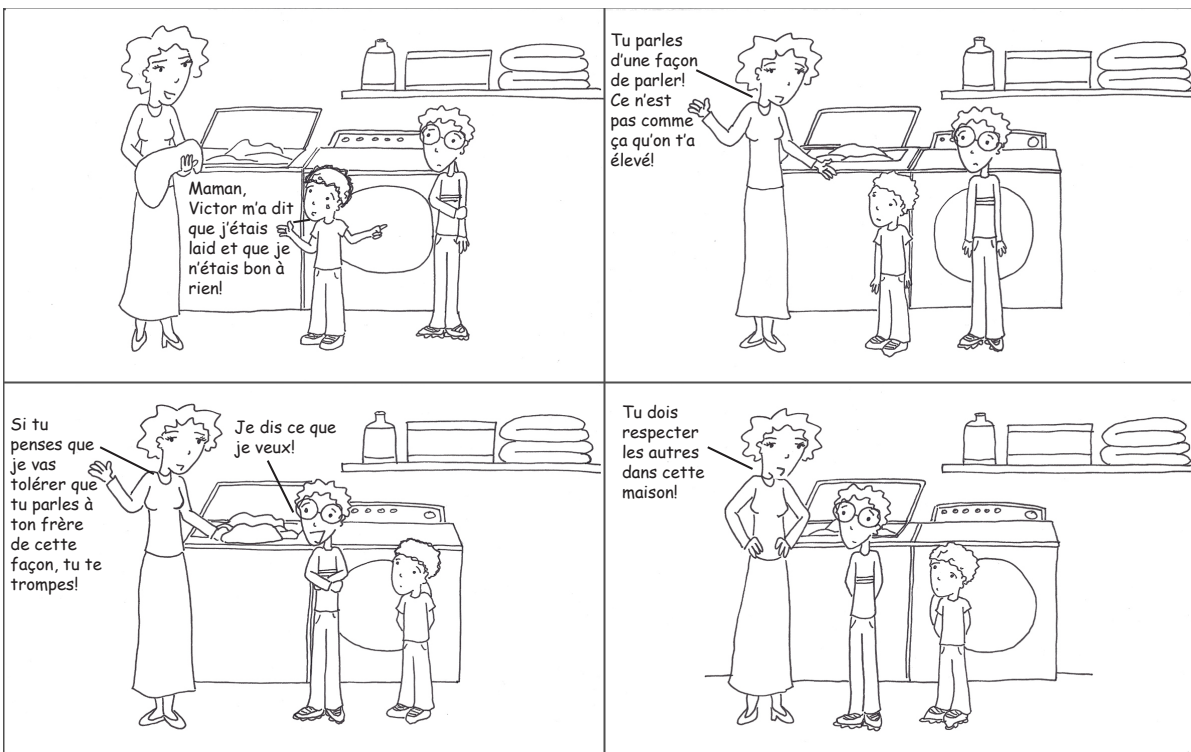
(SA – Répéter la règle)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



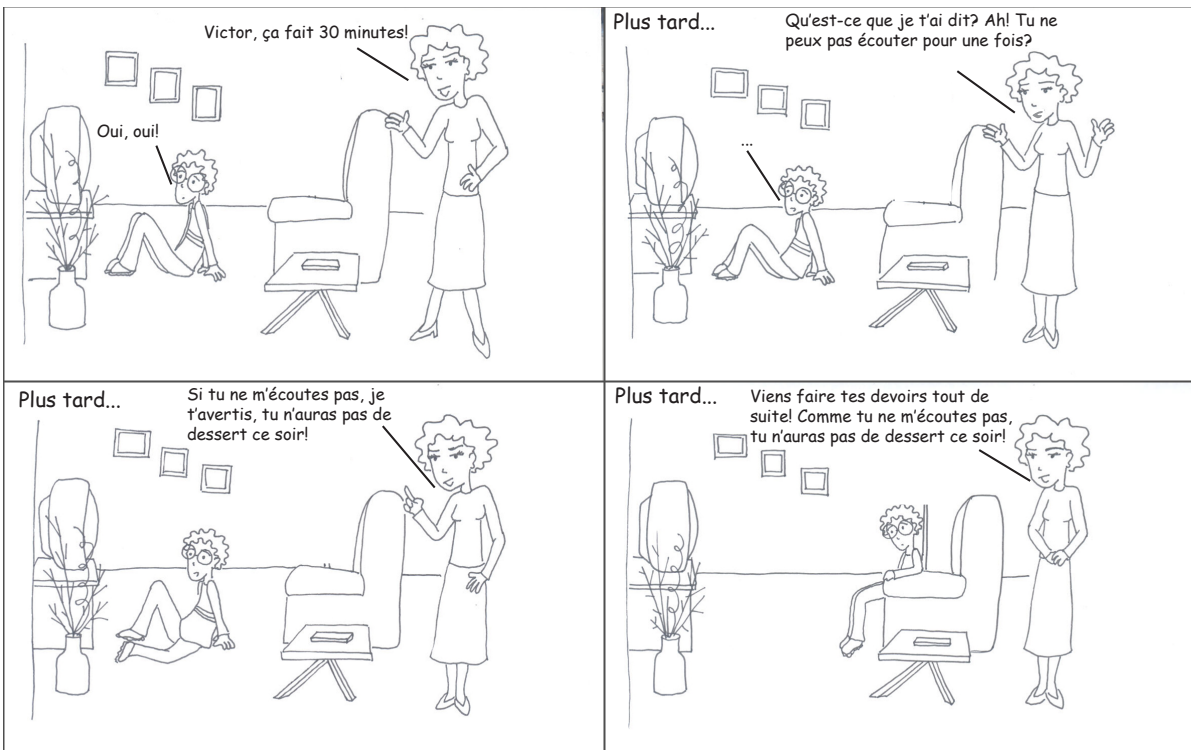
(Contrôle – Répéter la règle)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



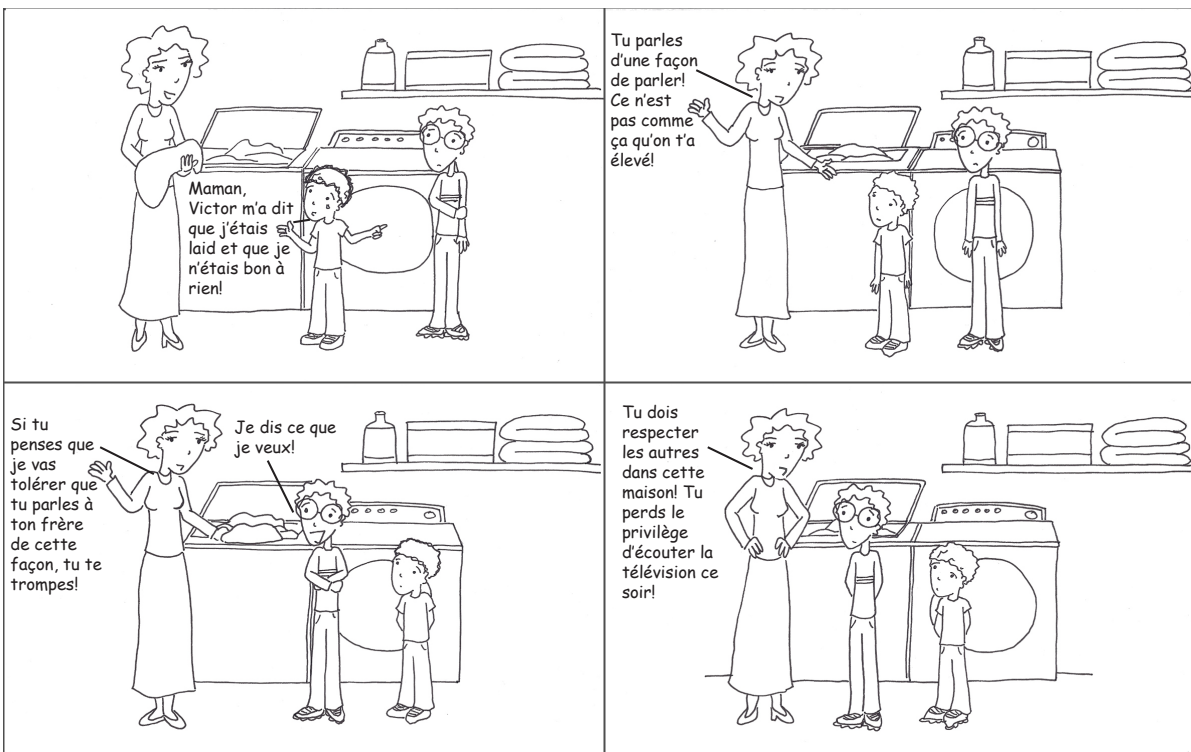
(Contrôle – Répéter la règle)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



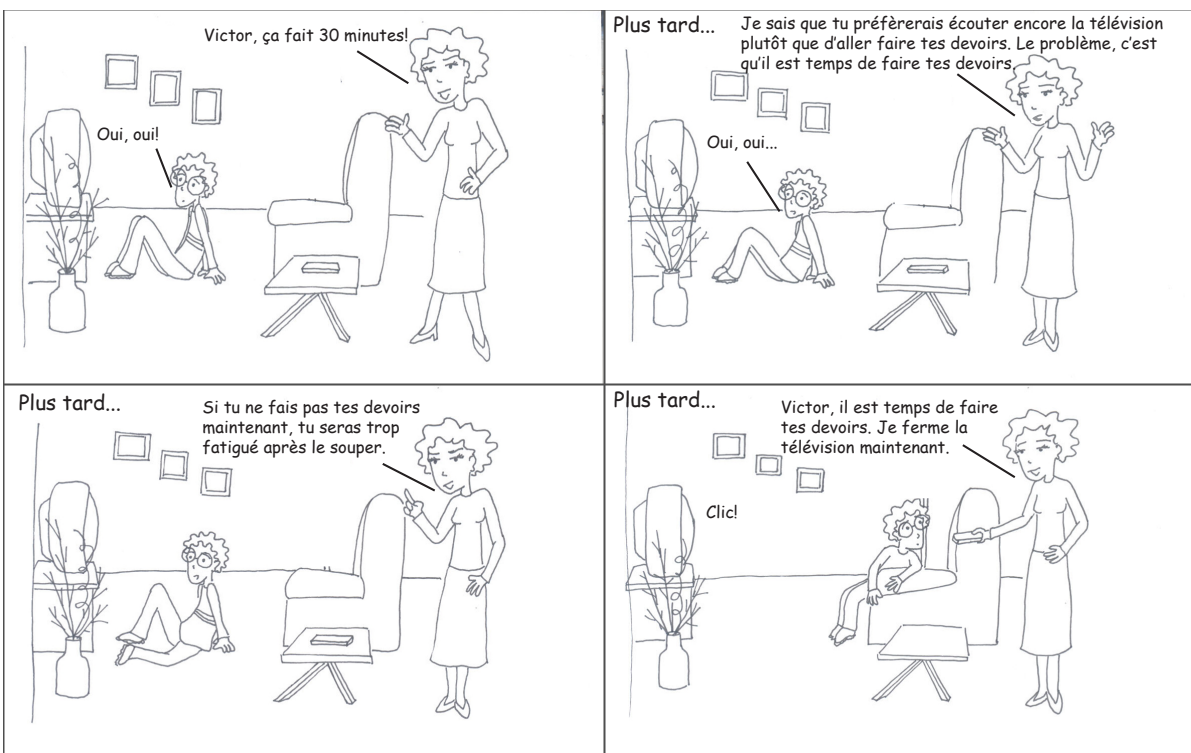
(Contrôle – Punition)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



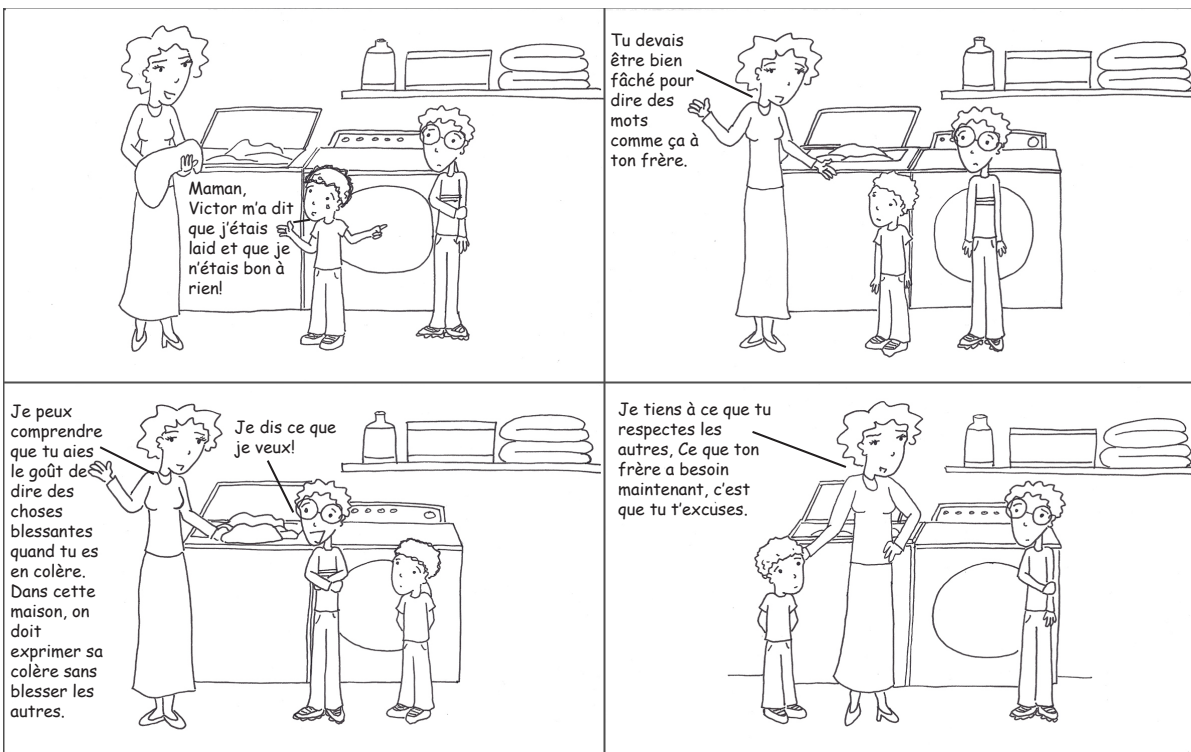
(Contrôle – Punition)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



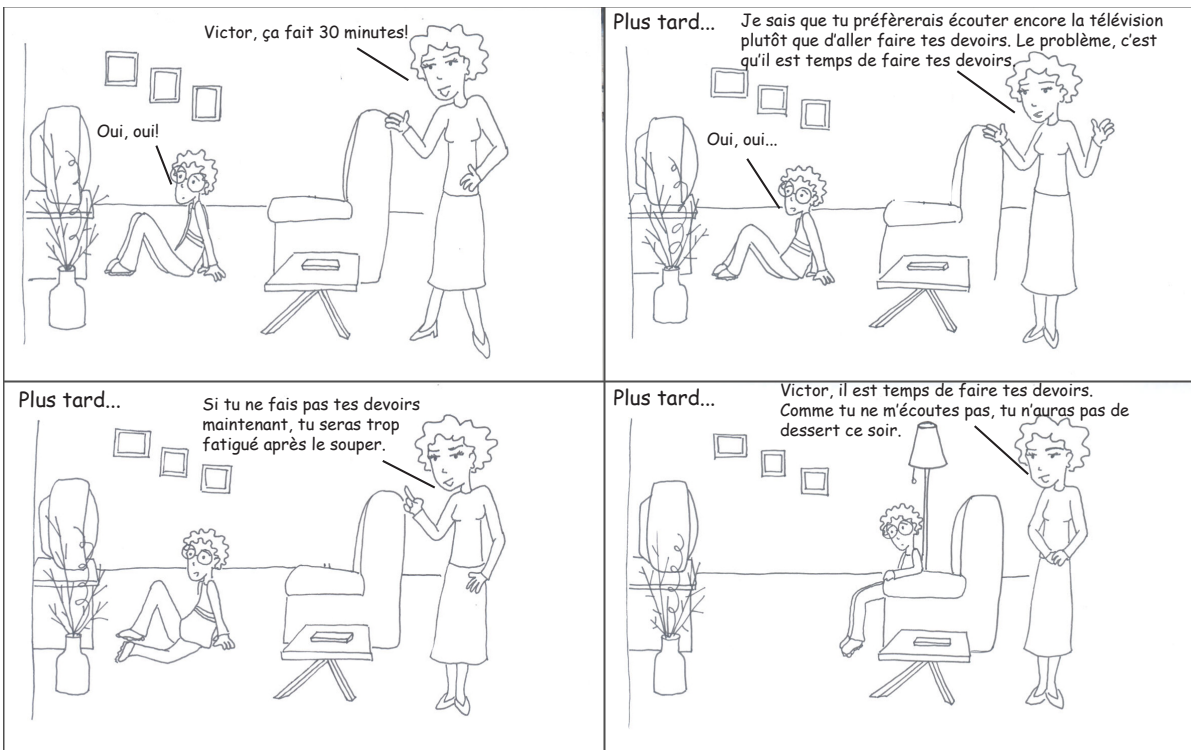
(SA – Conséquence)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



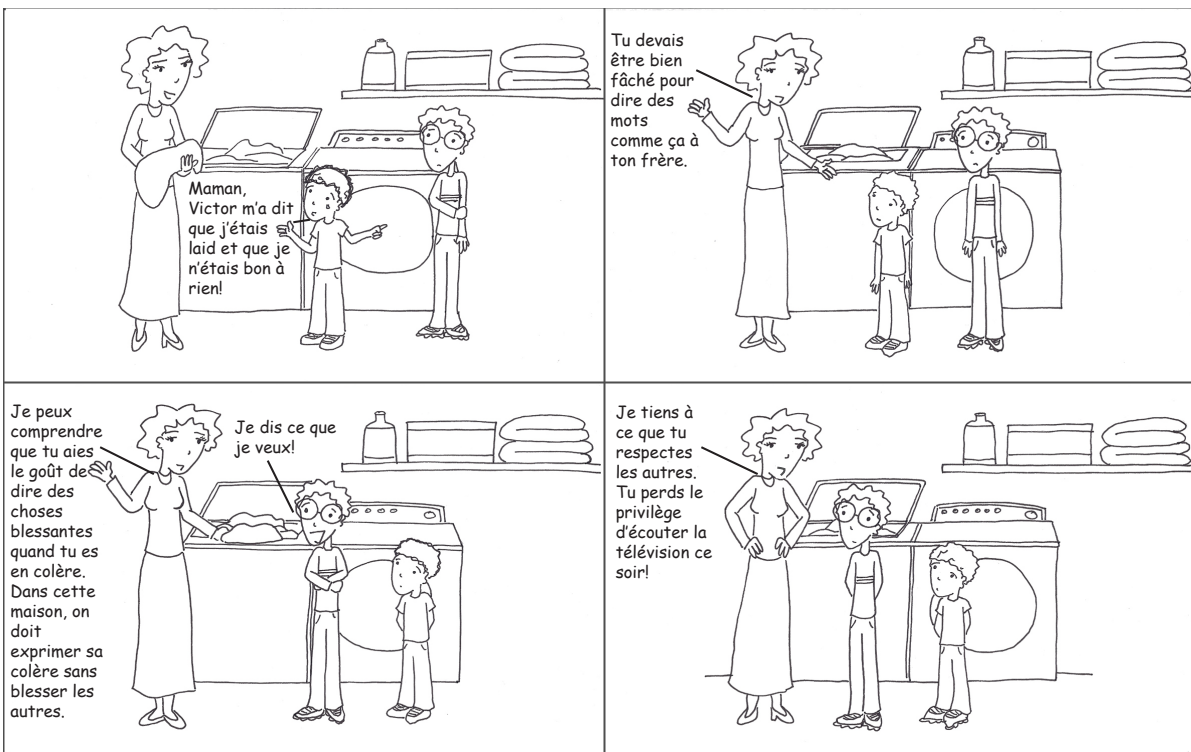
(SA – Conséquence)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



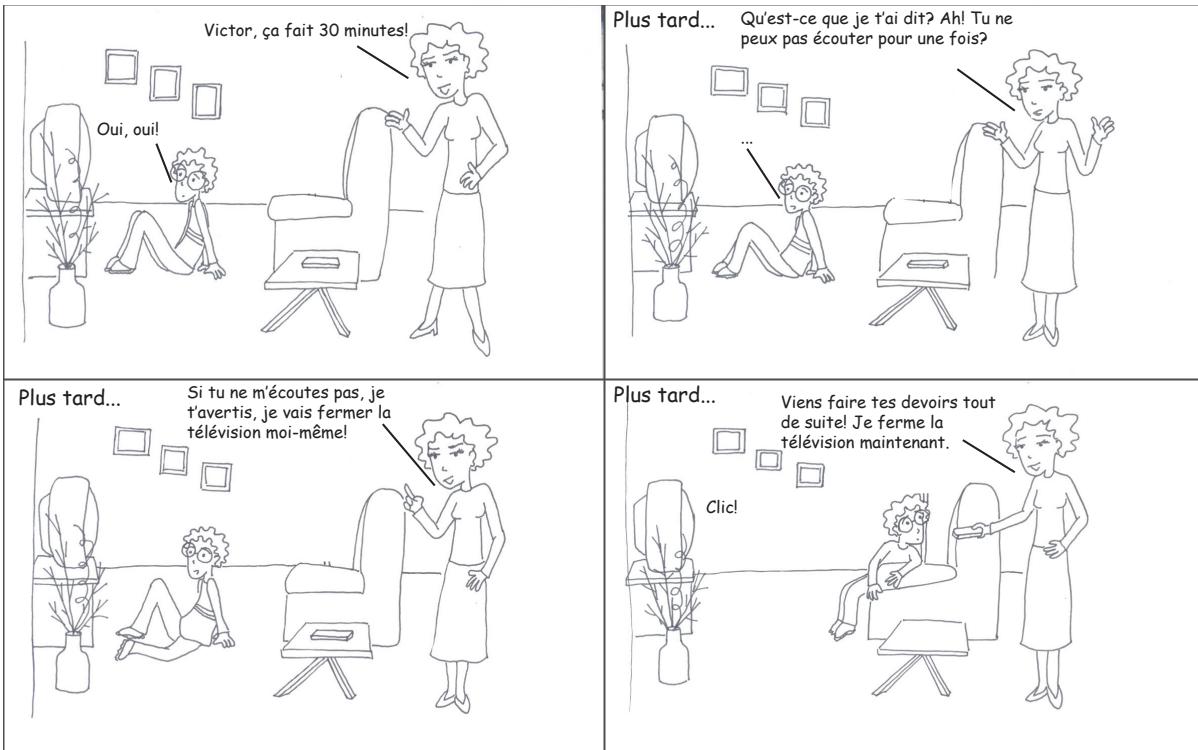
(SA – Punition)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



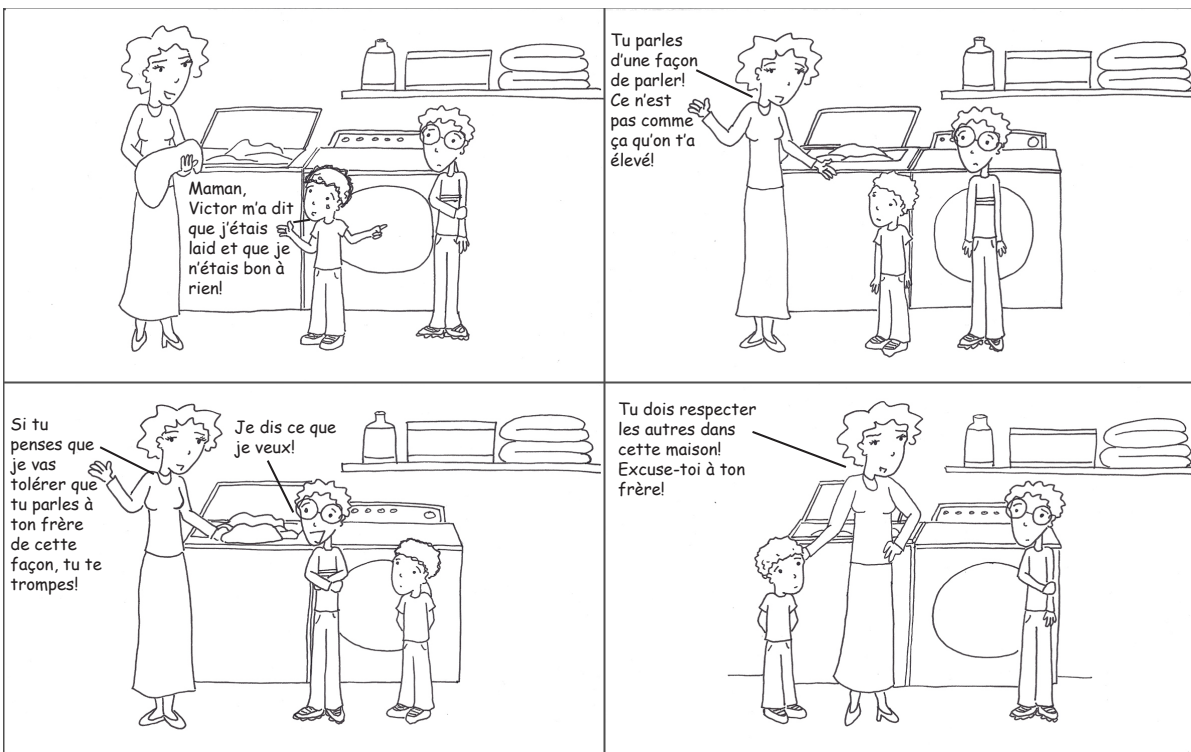
(SA – Punition)

En revenant de l'école, Victor peut écouter la télévision durant 30 minutes avant de faire ses devoirs.



(Contrôle – Conséquence)

Victor s'est disputé avec son frère et lui a dit des mots blessants.



(Contrôle – Conséquence)

Annexe D : Questionnaire des enfants

Mesures d'efficacité, d'acceptabilité et des réactions émotionnelles des enfants aux pratiques parentales (Lessard & Mageau, 2015)

Lis chaque bande dessinée et réponds ensuite aux questions.

(Insérer la vignette ici)

En repensant à la bande dessinée, indique à quel point la phrase suivante est vraie pour toi.

Si j'étais l'enfant de la bande dessinée et que cette mère agissait comme ça avec moi...		<i>Pas du tout vrai pour moi</i>	<i>Un peu vrai pour moi</i>	<i>Vrai pour moi</i>	<i>Très vrai pour moi</i>
1.	... je me brosserais les dents la prochaine fois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	... je regretterais ce que j'ai fait.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	... je serais triste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	... je me sentrais comme une mauvaise personne.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	... je serais fâchée contre elle.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

En repensant à la bande dessinée, complète la phrase suivante.

	<i>Pas correct</i>	<i>Un peu correct</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Tout à fait correct</i>
1. Selon toi, dans la bande dessinée, ce que la mère a dit et a fait était...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Répéter pour chacune des 12 vignettes)

Mesure de soutien à l'autonomie : Échelle P-PASS (Mageau, Ranger, Joussemet, Koestner, Moreau, & Forest, in press)

Indique à quel point les phrases suivantes sont vraies pour ta mère.

		PAS VRAI POUR MA MÈRE		VRAI POUR MA MÈRE	
		<i>Presque jamais vrai</i>	<i>Rarement vrai</i>	<i>Parfois vrai</i>	<i>Presque toujours vrai</i>
1.	Si je n'ai pas envie de faire quelque chose, ma mère menace de me punir pour m'obliger à le faire.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ma mère veut savoir mon opinion avant de prendre des décisions importantes à mon sujet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Ma mère veut que j'essaie toujours d'être le ou la meilleur-e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Lorsque ma mère veut que j'arrête de faire quelque chose, elle me fait sentir coupable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Ma mère me donne souvent le droit de choisir ce que je préfère.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	Ma mère me dit bien pourquoi je ne peux pas faire quelque chose.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	Je dois toujours faire ce que ma mère veut, sinon elle menace de me punir.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Ma mère croit que pour réussir, il faut que je sois toujours le ou la meilleur-e dans ce que je fais.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Ma mère me fait souvent sentir coupable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	Ma mère est capable de se mettre à ma place et de comprendre comment je me sens.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	J'ai souvent le droit de choisir à quoi j'ai envie de jouer à la maison.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	Dès que je ne fais pas ce que ma mère veut, je suis puni-e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	Je sens que je peux parler de tout ce que je vis avec ma mère.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	Pour que ma mère soit fière de moi, je dois être le ou la meilleur-e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	Ma mère veut que je sache pourquoi je n'ai pas le droit de faire certaines choses.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	Ma mère me fait sentir coupable pour m'obliger à faire ce qu'elle veut.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.	Lorsque je demande pourquoi je dois faire quelque chose, ma mère m'explique bien pourquoi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.	Ma mère m'écoute quand je parle même lorsqu'elle n'est pas d'accord.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Mesure de structure : Version adaptée de l'échelle Parenting scale, sous-échelle de structure vs laxness (Arnold, O'Leary, Wolff, & Acker, 1993)

Indique à quel point les phrases suivantes sont vraies pour ta mère.

		PAS VRAI POUR MA MÈRE		VRAI POUR MA MÈRE	
		<i>Presque jamais vrai</i>	<i>Rarement vrai</i>	<i>Parfois vrai</i>	<i>Presque toujours vrai</i>
1.	Ma mère me laisse faire tout ce que je veux.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Quand nous ne sommes pas à la maison, ma mère est beaucoup moins stricte avec moi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Quand je ne fais pas ce que ma mère me demande, elle laisse souvent tomber ou elle finit par le faire elle-même.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Si je deviens triste ou fâché-e quand ma mère me dit « Non », elle change d'idée et me laisse faire.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Informations générales et données sociodémographiques

1. Quel est ton âge? _____ ans

2. Quel est ton sexe? [] garçon [] fille

Annexe E : Questionnaire des mères

Mesures d'efficacité et d'acceptabilité des pratiques parentales (Lessard & Mageau, 2015)

Veuillez lire chaque bande dessinée et répondre ensuite aux questions.

(Insérer la vignette ici)

En repensant à la bande dessinée, indiquez à quel point vous trouvez le comportement de la mère efficace afin que cette situation ne se reproduise plus. **Encerclez le chiffre** qui correspond à votre réponse.

Très peu ou pas efficace	Un peu efficace	Moyennement efficace	Assez efficace	Très efficace
1	2	3	4	5

En repensant à la bande dessinée, indiquez à quel point vous trouvez le comportement de la mère acceptable. **Encerclez le chiffre** qui correspond à votre réponse.

Inacceptable	Peu acceptable	Moyennement acceptable	Acceptable	Tout à fait acceptable
1	2	3	4	5

(Répéter pour chacune des 24 vignettes)

Mesure de soutien à l'autonomie : Échelle Parental Attitude Scale (Gurland & Grolnick, 2005)

La prochaine section contient des énoncés concernant les attitudes envers l'éducation des enfants. Veuillez répondre à chacun des items en **encerclant le chiffre** qui correspond le mieux à votre attitude.

Pas du tout en accord	Très peu en accord	Un peu en accord	Moyennement en accord	Assez en accord	Fortement en accord	Très Fortement en accord
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Encerchez								
1.	Je trouve qu'écouter ce que mon enfant a à dire m'aide à prendre une meilleure décision.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	La chose la plus importante à enseigner aux enfants est l'obéissance absolue aux parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Je n'aime pas que mon enfant soit en désaccord avec moi en présence de mes amis.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Chaque enfant a besoin d'une fessée de temps en temps.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Mon enfant ne sait pas pourquoi il/elle est censé(e) faire ce que je lui dis de faire.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Les enfants ne devraient pas questionner l'autorité des parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	J'encourage mon enfant à donner son avis et son opinion même si nous pouvons être en désaccord.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	La fessée n'est pas une manière efficace de discipliner son enfant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Les enfants devraient toujours faire ce que leurs parents disent, peu importe la situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	J'encourage mon enfant à prendre ses propres décisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Mesure de structure : Échelle Parenting Scale, sous-échelle de structure vs laxness
(Arnold, O'Leary, Wolff & Acker, 1993)

À un moment ou à un autre, il arrive à tous les enfants de mal se comporter, de faire des choses qui peuvent être nuisibles, qui ne sont « pas correctes » ou que les parents n'aiment pas, par exemple « frapper quelqu'un », « refuser d'aller au lit » ou encore « faire une crise ».

Les parents ont plusieurs façons différentes de faire face à ce type de problème. Les items ci-dessous décrivent 2 types de comportements possibles, mais opposés. Pour chaque item, **encerclez le chiffre** qui correspond le mieux au type de comportements que vous avez l'habitude d'avoir par rapport à ces 2 pôles.

1. Je suis le genre de parent qui...

...met des limites à ce que mon enfant a le droit de faire.

Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais	Je fais plutôt ça	Je fais parfois ceci, parfois cela	Je fais plutôt ça	Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

...laisse mon enfant faire tout ce qu'il/elle veut.

2. Quand je veux que mon enfant arrête de faire quelque chose...

...je dis fermement à mon enfant d'arrêter.

Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais	Je fais plutôt ça	Je fais parfois ceci, parfois cela	Je fais plutôt ça	Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

...je supplie ou implore mon enfant d'arrêter.

3. Quand nous ne sommes pas à la maison...

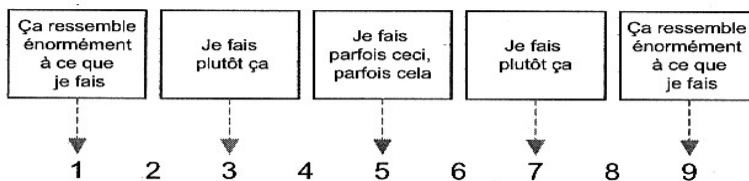
...je traite mon enfant de la même façon qu'à la maison.

Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais	Je fais plutôt ça	Je fais parfois ceci, parfois cela	Je fais plutôt ça	Ça ressemble énormément à ce que je fais				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

...je suis beaucoup moins stricte avec mon enfant.

4. Quand mon enfant fait quelque chose que je n'aime pas...

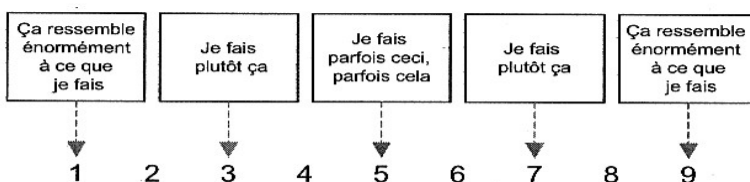
...je m'en occupe à chaque fois que ça arrive.



...je le laisse souvent faire.

5. Quand mon enfant ne fait pas ce que je lui demande...

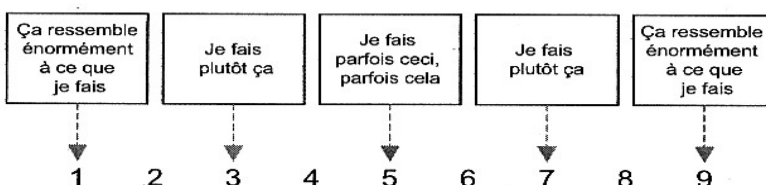
...je le laisse souvent faire ou je finis par le faire moi-même.



...je passe à l'action d'une autre façon.

6. Si dire « Non » ne fonctionne pas...

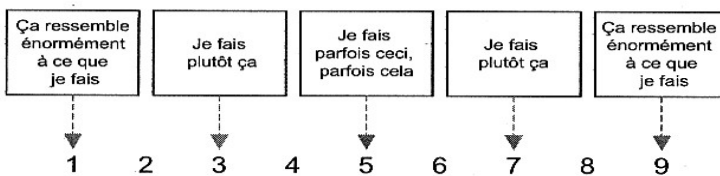
...je passe à l'action d'une autre façon.



...j'offre à mon enfant une chose qu'il/elle aime pour qu'il/elle se comporte bien.

7. Si mon enfant se comporte mal et ensuite a l'air désolé...

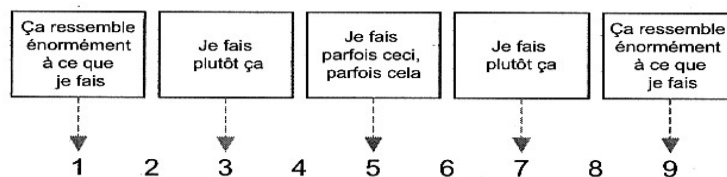
...je m'occupe du problème comme je le ferais normalement.



...je le laisse faire pour cette fois.

8. Quand je dis que mon enfant ne peut pas faire quelque chose...

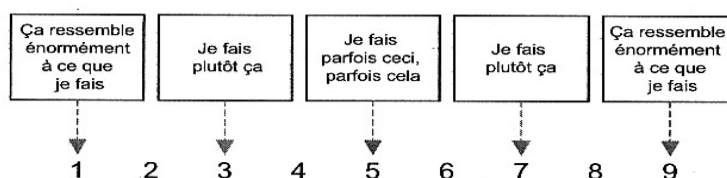
...je laisse
mon enfant le
faire quand
même.



...je ne
change pas
d'idée.

9. Si mon enfant devient contrarié quand je dis « Non »...

...je change
d'idée et je le
laisse faire.



...je ne
change pas
d'idée.

Informations générales et données sociodémographiques

1. Quel est votre âge? _____ ans

2. Quelle est votre origine ethnique?

- ☐ Canadien français
- ☐ Canadien anglais
- ☐ Français
- ☐ Anglais
- ☐ Italien
- ☐ Chinois
- ☐ Sud-asiatique
- ☐ Africain
- ☐ Haïtien
- ☐ Arabophone du Maghreb et du Moyen-Orient
- ☐ Hispanophone
- ☐ Autochtone
- ☐ Autre (veuillez préciser) : _____

3. Quel niveau d'éducation avez-vous complété?

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ École secondaire/diplôme d'études professionnelles (DEP)
- ☐ Cégep
- ☐ Baccalauréat/diplôme universitaire de premier cycle
- ☐ Maîtrise ou doctorat/diplôme universitaire de deuxième ou troisième cycle

4. Quel est votre revenu familial annuel approximatif (avant impôt)?

- ☐ Moins de 15 000 \$
- ☐ 15 000 \$ - 30 000 \$
- ☐ 30 000 \$ - 50 000 \$
- ☐ 50 000 \$ - 75 000 \$
- ☐ 75 000 \$ - 100 000 \$
- ☐ 100 000 \$ ou plus

5. Êtes-vous présentement dans une relation à long terme? ☐ Oui ☐ Non

